

A HISTORY OF
THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS

DIBBLE

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MAP
OF THE
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
reduced from the
HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT SURVEY DEPT. MAP.

TABLE OF AREA AND ELEVATION

ISLANDS	Area in Statute Square Miles	Acres	Height in Feet
Hawaii.....	4,016	2,570,000	13,825
Mau.....	728	466,000	10,082
Oahu.....	598	384,000	4,030
Kau.....	547	348,000	5,250
Molokai.....	261	167,000	4,958
Lanai.....	139	86,000	3,400
Niihau.....	97	62,000	1,500
Kahoolawe.....	69	44,000	1,472

Honolulu Temperature—Average seven years	-	74.30
" Barometer " " "	-	30.046
" Rain-fall " " "	-	37.96 in

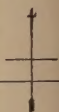
LATEST CENSUS
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
JUNE 1, 1900

HAWAII	OAHU
Hilo.....19,785	Honolulu.....39,306
Pau.....5,128	Ewa.....9,689
Kau.....3,854	Waianae.....1,008
North Kona.....3,819	Waiailua.....3,285
South Kona.....2,372	Koolauloa.....2,372
North Kohala.....4,365	Koolapuka.....2,841
South Kohala.....600	
Hamakua.....6,919	58,504
46,843	
MAUI	KAUAI
Lahaina.....4,332	Maimea.....5,714
Wailuku.....7,963	Niihau.....172
Makawao.....7,236	Koloa.....4,564
Hana.....5,276	Kaunaloa.....3,220
24,797	Lihue.....4,434
	20,734
Molokai and Lanai.....8,123	Total population.....154,001

Kaunaloa Channel

Kauai Channel

Alenuihaha Channel



A HISTORY
OF THE
SANDWICH ISLANDS

BY
SHELDON DIBBLE

"Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."—*1 Sam., vii, 12.*

HONOLULU, T. H.
THOS. G. THURM, PUBLISHER
1909

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IT is proper that some account should be given of the manner in which this volume came into existence. Being connected with the Mission Seminary at Lahainaluna, and being called to teach History as one branch of my department of instruction, it occurred to me as quite objectionable that the scholars, whilst they were becoming acquainted with other nations, should remain to a great degree in ignorance of their own. Accordingly, in 1836, I made some effort to collect the main facts of Hawaiian History. There were but few records and those recent. Most important events were afloat in the memories of the people and fast passing into oblivion. If they were to be preserved it was time they were collected.

The method which I took to collect facts was as follows: I first made out a list of questions, arranged chronologically according to the best of my knowledge. I had continual occasion afterwards to add to the questions, to vary and to change them. I then selected ten of the best scholars of the Seminary, and formed them into a class of inquiry. I met them at an appointed hour, gave them the first question and conversed freely with them upon it, that they might understand fully and distinctly what was sought for. I then requested them to go individually and separately to the oldest and most knowing of the chiefs and people, gain all the information that they could on the question given out, commit each his information to writing and be ready to read it on a day and hour appointed. At the time of meeting each scholar read what he had written—discrepancies were reconciled and corrections made by each other and then all the compositions were handed to me, out of which I

endeavored to make one connected and true account. Thus we proceeded from one question to another till a volume was prepared and printed in the Hawaiian language.

In the fall of 1837, I was induced, by heavy domestic afflictions and the failure of my own health, (repeated instances of hemorrhage from the lungs,) to visit the United States. I arrived in the spring of 1838. My health was poor and did not admit of much public speaking. I attempted, however, something like a course of lectures at Auburn Theological Seminary, and at Troy. In the autumn, the approaching cold made it necessary for me to visit the Southern States. In the various cities of the South I found a desire to hear respecting the Sandwich Islands' mission; and, as my health was somewhat improved, I spent the winter and spring in giving information from place to place. In June, I returned to New York and began to make preparations to embark the second time for the Sandwich Islands. Before sailing, out of regard to the repeated request of friends, I published those of my lectures that were historical in the form of a little volume of 250 pages, entitled, "History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands' Mission."

I arrived at the Islands again in the spring of 1840, and resumed my labors in the Mission Seminary. At the general meeting of missionaries in May, 1831, it was thought that the attitude and circumstances of the nation demanded a more full and definite history than had as yet been written. The task was assigned to me. It was with diffidence that I commenced it, but the growing conviction of the need of such a work has helped to sustain me through it.

I have taken much the same method to collect information as in 1836. A Royal Historical Society has also been formed, by means of which some information has been gained. I have taken great pains to be correct, and fondly trust that no important statement is far from the truth. The work has been written amidst the daily cares and labors of the Seminary, and in a feeble and precarious state of health. It is hoped, therefore, that due allowance will be made for its many defects.

It will be seen that the detail of missionary operations at the islands constitutes the main feature in the history of the nation. To disconnect the two things would be as impossible as to write the life of Washington without alluding to the American Revolution. Changes in the nation, effected by the introduction, progress and triumphs of Christianity, con-

stitute the sum of Sandwich Islands' History. This fact, to the mind both of the Christian and philosopher, gives to the history most of its interest.

That the reader may not be embarrassed in the pronunciation of Hawaiian names, it may be well for him to know that the vowels are sounded as in the languages of southern Europe: *a* as in *father*, *e* as *á* in *hate*, *i* as in *pique*, *o* as in *polar*, *u* as *oo* in *boot*. There are different shades of sound for the vowels, when long and when short, when mild and when aspirated, but they need not here be specified.

If this unpretending volume shall be the means of rescuing some important facts from oblivion which otherwise would have been lost; if it shall render assistance to some abler pen to write a more perfect history; and, above all, if it shall tend to enlist the efforts and call forth the prayers of Christians for our ruined race, the hours which I have spent upon it will not have been spent in vain.

SHELDON DIBBLE.

*Lahainaluna,
April 28th, 1843.*

PUBLISHER'S ADVERTISEMENT

THE republication of this valuable work on the Hawaiian Islands needs no apology, from the fact that a constant demand has long existed for information pertaining to their earlier history, of which no more truthful account exists than Dibble's, gathered as it was from native sources at a period when the events recorded were fresh in the minds of the narrators, and the value of which has been acknowledged by all subsequent historians. The high consideration in which it has ever been held as an authority is sufficient guarantee of its recognized worth in answering the demands for a work embracing the period from the earliest legendary history of the aborigines to the occupation of the Islands by Great Britain in 1843.

The publisher, therefore, has taken no liberty in the alteration of the original text, further than has been found necessary in the correction of typographical errors and the elucidation of a few paragraphs not sufficiently plain for readers unfamiliar with the times and incidents alluded to, and to embody as its closing chapter what was an Addenda to a portion of the edition, and which had two or more corrections during its printing to meet the author's views, as found in his letters of that period to the A. B. C. F. M.

To make the book more valuable for reference, a table of contents has been arranged for each chapter, the longer foot-notes have been transferred to appendices at the end of the volume, and a carefully prepared index annexed.

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SANDWICH ISLANDS

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY.

Geography of the Islands—Area—Population—History—Origin of the Islands and People—Affinity of Language—Manner of People Spreading—Evidence of Origin, derived from Songs, Prayers and Traditions—Antiquity of the Nation—Genealogy of Chiefs—Little Evidence of Ancient Knowledge—Time of Falling into Heathenism—Origin of Tabu System—Degradation of former State—Ancient Division of Time—Idea of Superintending Power—Jewish Similarities—Traditions and Songs not Recent—Ships Wrecked—Discovery of the Islands—First Intercourse of Capt. Cook—His Second Visit—Ignorance of the Natives—Arrival of Cook at Kealakekua—Homage Paid Him—His Death—Subsequent Visitors—Influence of Early Visitors—Articles of Trade—Theft of a Boat and its Attendant Results—A Fearful Revenge.

These Islands, as may be seen by a glance at the map, situated in about 20 degrees north latitude and 160 west longitude from Greenwich, form a group quite distinct and stand alone in importance in the north-east Pacific. The names of the islands of this group, numbering them from the south-east to the north-west, are Hawaii, Maui, Molokini, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Molokai, Oahu, Kauai, Niihau, and Kaula. Molokini and Kaula are merely uninhabited rocks. The four most important islands are Hawaii, Maui, Oahu and Kauai; Hawaii is the largest, but Oahu is the commercial center, having a very secure harbor, which gives rise to the large town of Honolulu, the principal residence of foreign agents, merchants and mechanics. The islands have not been so accurately surveyed as to calculate with entire precision the number of square miles, though the common estimate of

8,000 cannot be far from the truth,* 500 less than in the state of Massachusetts.

A census of the islands has been taken, but it cannot be relied upon with full confidence. From it we may estimate the present inhabitants of the whole group, with some degree of approximation to truth, to be not far from 108,000, about one-seventh of the population of the above named state of Massachusetts. The population of these islands, therefore, averaging the whole number of square miles, is one-seventh the density of the state of Massachusetts, though in fact the people are not scattered over the whole surface, but live mostly in villages and on the sea-shore, leaving the interior of the islands with scarce an inhabitant.

The surface of the country is exceedingly diversified. There may be seen extensive plains, high hills, secluded valleys, deep ravines, frightful chasms, towering peaks, majestic mountains, and the yawning craters of immense volcanoes.

The vegetation and climate of the islands are quite as diversified. The interior of the islands where the ground is uniformly elevated, is cool, rainy, and abounds in luxuriant vegetation, thickets and forests. The windward side of the islands, or the side constantly exposed to the trade wind, is more frequently refreshed with rain than the opposite side, and is of course uniformly verdant, except where covered with fields of recent lava. The low land on the leeward side of the islands is uniformly dry and barren, except in valleys and on plains where it is watered by irrigation from the streams that flow down from the mountains. And as one glances at the contrast presented every few rods between perfect desolation and luxuriant verdure he is forcibly reminded of the expression of the prophet that "every thing lives whither the river cometh."

The islands are not, as I have seen somewhere stated, surrounded by a coral reef. There are reefs of coral in some few places, on the leeward side, but the shore is for the most part free from every obstruction.

These geographical outlines will serve I trust to fix in the

* The total area of the Hawaiian Islands, according to latest surveys

mind of the reader the location and general aspect of the islands, which in this place, is the only object intended.

In entering upon a history of the Sandwich Islands, we may appropriately call to mind the expression of the Prophet, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Once darkness, thick darkness, covered these islands. Now the light and glory of the Lord our God is seen upon them.

A correct history of these islands is a matter of no small importance. The period from their discovery till the present time, though short indeed, has been full of interesting events;—events that have awakened attention, called forth inquiry and excited wonder throughout a large part of the civilized world. Many important facts have been developed in regard to the nature of heathenism and the state of heathen mind; the progress of intellect has been shown from the lowest degradation and imbecility to comparative elevation and strength; and there has been a gradual change of character and habits from the most besotted state to that somewhat approaching Christianity and civilization. On these and on kindred topics, much light has been thrown by the progress of events at these Islands.

All history is instructive, but especially the history of a people during its changing state from heathenism and barbarity to Christianity and civilized habits.

Neither is it more important to record the later events that have taken place at these islands than it is to collect the main facts of their early history. It is impossible to appreciate the change that is taking place without some just notion of their former state. It is not merely the gratification of curiosity, but a matter of solid importance that we look at the people just in that state in which they were without the influences of the religion of Jesus.

This is of the more importance, because, if you can appreciate the condition of one heathen nation, you can form some just view of the whole pagan world.

A plain statement of facts, it is believed, will be the most correct and graphic description of their former degraded and

destitute condition. Look, then, at the Hawaiians as they were, and from them judge what is the present state of a large portion of the human race.

The early history of the Hawaiian nation is involved in uncertainty. It could not be otherwise with the history of a people entirely ignorant of the art of writing. Traditions, indeed, are abundant; but traditions are a mass of rubbish, from which it is always difficult to extract truth. Very little can be ascertained with certainty, beyond the memory of the present generation, and the records of Europeans who first visited the islands.

The origin of the Hawaiian Islands is a matter of conjecture. Some think that where the islands are now, was once nothing but the rolling ocean—that the whole group, with their iron-bound coasts and snow-crested mountains, were thrown up from the depth below by volcanic agency. The islands are merely masses of lava. Even the soil is decomposed lava. Craters of extinct volcanoes are everywhere to be seen on all the islands—some are partially extinct, continuing to emit smoke; and one presents a lake of raging fire, with occasional eruptions of awful grandeur. Such is the character not only of the Hawaiian Islands, but of many groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean. From these appearances the opinion is formed that the islands are of volcanic origin. This opinion, however, is necessarily mere conjecture and is of course of very little weight. But, what most deeply concerns us, is, that these islands, however formed, are the residence of immortal beings like ourselves, destined to the same unchanging state either of happiness or of woe.

The origin of the people of Hawaii is somewhat uncertain. This, however, we know, that they are evidently of the same race with the inhabitants of most of the various groups of islands in the East Pacific. The people of New Zealand, the Society and Tahiti Islands, the Harvey Islands, the Friendly Islands, the Navigator's Islands, the Marquesas Islands, the Sandwich Islands, and some others of the same range, exhibit the same features, the same manners and cus-

toms, and speak substantially the same language. The sameness of language is a fact so well understood that there is no need of quoting authorities to confirm it. Parallel columns exhibiting the different dialects may be seen in various works, particularly in the late works of Dr. Lang of Sidney and Mr. Williams of the South Sea mission. An interesting exhibition of this kind is also given by Mr. Davies, one of the oldest of the missionaries in the South Seas, and may be seen in the first number of the second volume of the *Hawaiian Spectator*.* This circumstance is an amazing facility in propagating the gospel over the wide Pacific, and is therefore a fact of immense interest to all who pray for the coming of Christ's kingdom.

From which continent, or what portion of either continent, this extensive range of Polynesia was peopled, is a question of some interest. And we have but little hesitation in saying that they originated from the Malay coast. Their features and color are the same with the Malay, and many words in their language very much the same.

The affinity of the Polynesian language to the Malay tongue is shown in the parallel columns already alluded to by Dr. Lang, and Mr. Williams. But I have been particularly interested in the columns given by Mr. Davies. The last named author not only shows the affinity between the Malay and Polynesian languages, but also between the Eastern Polynesian and the languages of various islands farther west, tracing the whole route and stretching on even to the Malay coast,—distinctly marking to the observing mind the probable path of migration. He has collected the words for the numerals in all the following languages or dialects: Tahitian, Marquesan, Rapan, Rarotongan, Hawaiian, New Zealand, Easter Island, Modern Tahitian, Paumotuan, Samoan or Navigator, Tonga, Tana Island, Fijian, Malayan, Island of Savu, Isle of Ceram, Isle of Mosses, Javanese, Mindanao, Tagales of Manila, Papangos of Philippines, Batta, Sampoor, Acheen of Sumatra, Isle of Cocos, New Guinea, Madagase, Carolines

* See Appendix A.

and Pelew Islands. There is very evidently a striking affinity in all these various languages or dialects.*

The manner in which they spread abroad over the ocean, from island to island, is easily conjectured. Canoes filled with men and women, in passing from one island to another of the same group, are sometimes blown out to sea and from sight of land. Then they are liable to wander about on the bosom of the deep and perish or fall in with some other group of islands. Many instances of this kind have occurred recently. Individuals were found on the Navigator's Islands, at the visit of Mr. Williams, who had wandered in this way from a small island south of the Society group. Others were found on the Navigator's Islands who had wandered from Rarotonga, one of the Harvey group. Christianity was introduced at Rurutu in this way, one of the islands of the South Pacific. Two enterprising chiefs of Rurutu left the island on account of an epidemic, and went to Tabuai. On returning from Tabuai they were overtaken with a violent storm and driven from their course. For three weeks they wandered they knew not whither, till at length they fell upon the coral reef of Maurua, the most westward of the Society Islands, became acquainted with the gospel, and were safely returned to their native isle.

A Japanese junk lately came ashore in this way on the Island of Oahu—some of the crew were still alive. The missionary near whose station the junk came ashore gives the following statement: "The junk made the shore and anchored near the harbor of Waialua on the last Sabbath in December, 1832. The crew cast anchor about mid-day, and were soon visited by a canoe, as the position of the junk, being anchored near a reef of rocks and other circumstances indicated distress. Four individuals were found on board, all but one severely afflicted with the scurvy; two of them incapable of walking and a third nearly so. The fourth was in good health, and had the almost entire management of the vessel. This distressed company had been out at sea ten or eleven

* See Appendix B.

months, without water, except as they now and then obtained rain from the deck of the vessel. Their containers for water were few, adapted to a voyage of not more than two or three weeks. The junk was bound from one of the southern islands of the Japanese group to Jeddo, laden with fish, when it encountered a typhoon and was driven out into seas altogether unknown to those on board and after wandering almost a year, made the island of Oahu. The original number on board the junk was nine; these were reduced by disease and death, induced probably by want of water and food, to four only.

Near the same time another Japanese junk was wrecked on the north-west coast of America. A part of the crew were brought to Honolulu.

Later still, the 6th of June, 1839, the whale ship *James Loper*, Captain Cathcart, fell in with the wreck of a Japanese junk in latitude 30 degrees north and longitude 174 degrees east from Greenwich, about mid-way between the Islands of Japan and the Sandwich Islands. Seven of the crew were rescued and brought to these islands the ensuing fall.

Again, three Japanese sailors were rescued from a wreck in the North Pacific (June 9th, 1840) in latitude 34 degrees north, longitude 174 degrees, 30 minutes, east, more than 2,500 miles from their homes. They were bound to Jeddo, and driven beyond their port by a westerly gale, had been drifting about for 181 days when found.

In view of these and similar facts, it is easy to see how the untold islands in this broad ocean have been peopled by immortal beings.

But, in addition to facts of this kind it may be interesting to notice some intimations of the origin of the people of the Sandwich Islands, which may be gathered from the names of foreign countries existing in their language before their intercourse with foreigners and from their ancient traditions.

Anciently the Hawaiians were much in the habit of composing songs, which were preserved in memory from one to another and highly esteemed. In these songs handed down

from time immemorial the names of many foreign countries occur. Most of these names cannot be recognized, perhaps in part from our unacquaintance with the native names of the islands of this ocean. But some of these names are distinguished at once, as for instance Kahiki, (Society Islands); Nuuhiva, (Marquesas); Vavau, (Vavau Islands); and Upolu, (one of the Navigator Islands.)* Can there be any possible way of accounting for the fact that these names are found in their ancient songs without supposing some previous intercourse?

Besides, in these songs the language of the foreign countries named is termed "hoopahaohao," a different dialect. Notice also in regard to the Navigator or Samoa group, of which group it seems Upolu, one of the islands, was known in song, that the largest island is named Savaii, only a shade of sound different from Hawaii, the largest island of the Sandwich Island group.

Again, the Sandwich Islanders had the names of foreign countries not only in their songs, but also in their ancient idolatrous prayers.†

Another fact quite analogous is, that the name Hawaii frequently occurs in the songs of the Society Islanders. This fact indicates that there had been communication not only from the Society to the Sandwich Islands but also from the Sandwich Islands to the Society group.

* See Appendix C.

†In the following specimen the names of Polapola and Kahiki, two of the Society Islands, are embraced, and the fact is asserted that from those islands originated Lono, to whom the prayer is made, the most venerated of the ancient Hawaiian gods.

"Ou kino Lono i ka lani, he ao loa, he ao pokoi, he ao kiai, he ao halo, he ao hoopua i ka lani; mai uliuli, mai melemele, mai *Polapola*, mai haehae, mai Omaokuilulu, mai *ka aina o Lono i hanau ai*, oia hookui aku ai o Lono, ka hoku e miha i ka lani, amoamo, ke akua laau o nolo kui-papa, ka lua mai *Kahiki*, e Lono e ku i ka malo a hiu."

"The following is a specimen; and the fact is correctly asserted in it that the group includes four principal islands.

Extract from the song called Kumuha.

"O *Hawaii* kea uka, o *Hawaii* kea kai,

"O *Hawaii* kaukau aku, o *Hawaii* auhau mai,

"*Aha mau aina* malaila, ua kapaia o *Hawaii* ka inoa.

The more ancient names in the genealogy of the Sandwich Island's chiefs are the same as in the genealogy of the Society Islands chiefs, and the names of the wooden images of the one group are the same as those of the other. The names of the principal deities also were much the same, as Olo of Kahiki, Lono of Hawaii; Kaaloa of Kahiki, Kanaloa of Hawaii.

It is said that the ancient Society Islanders constructed canoes of a large size called pahi, and that therefore when foreign vessels approached their shores they called them pahi, which is their name for a ship to the present day. In these canoes voyages to and from the Sandwich Islands might perhaps have been accomplished.

It would seem also that the Sandwich Islanders knew the points of compass at which foreign islands were situated. In going to Kahiki (Society Islands) they took their departure from the eastern point of Kahoolawe, which is therefore called Kealaikahiki, (course or direction to the Society Islands). Another point of departure was from Kau, the southern extremity of Hawaii.

In going to islands west, of which they speak much and often, they sailed either from Kauai or Oahu. Tradition speaks with much particularity of several voyages to and from foreign islands, mentions the names of persons skilled in navigating by the stars; and songs were composed which still exist to the honor of these foreign voyagers.* Navigat-

* The following account, one of many, may be introduced, rejecting many unimportant particulars, and from it we may judge of the rest:

“A certain canoe or boat came from Kahiki (Society Islands.) The principal person on board and the one who owned the canoe was Moikeha. They landed on Hawaii at Makanoni, in Puna. From there he sailed to Oahu and from thence to Kauai and took up his residence at Kapaa on that island. There he married a woman by the name of Hinalu, to whom were born three children, Hookamalii, Haulanniiakea, and Kila. When they were grown, Moikeha, their father, sent them on a voyage to Kahiki to bring Laamaikahiki, his oldest son, whom he had left behind. They sailed and accomplished their object, and Laamaikahiki on his arrival introduced several improvements in the construction of canoes. They sailed from Kauai to Lanai, from there to the point of Kahoolawe, called Kealaikahiki, (course to the Society Islands), and from there committed themselves to the guidance of the stars.”

ing by the stars was certainly not unknown, for instances are familiar in the memory of the present generation, of persons who have sailed from Hawaii to Kauai out of sight of land, taking their direction from the stars.

It is said that Paoa, the ancient great high priest, from whom Hewahewa the high priest of Kamehameha traced his descent, was from the Society Islands. He was also priest to Lono, the great foreign god, introduced from those islands. It is said also that he went back to the Society Islands to bring a chief for Hawaii. The particulars of the voyage are given, but too long to insert here.

In these and other similar traditions there is doubtless much that is not true, but, taken as a whole I cannot account for them without supposing some truth; and they accord with other evidences of the origin of the people.

The antiquity of the Hawaiian nation is very considerable. There have always been some persons, appointed by government from time immemorial, whose special business it has been to preserve unimpaired the genealogy of their kings. This genealogy embraces the names of seventy-seven kings. Stories are connected with most of this long list of kings, which doubtless are a mixture of truth, forgetfulness, and fancy.*

I have seen it asserted that there exists on many islands of the Pacific remains of ancient works which testify the former existence of a population not only far more numerous but also far more intelligent and powerful than has been there within the period reached by distinct and credible tradition. Whatever ancient works may exist on other groups of islands, I know not, but in regard to the Sandwich Islands it is most certain that no ancient works remain that indicate science, intelligence and skill. There are no structures either for purposes of war or religion that indicate any thing else than the mere muscular strength of a barbarous and uncivilized people.

Neither does tradition speak of an age of more knowledge. The only accounts that have that appearance are

* See Appendix D.

those that speak of foreign voyages, the construction of canoes of a larger size and navigation by the stars.

That the antiquity of the nation, however, is very considerable is evident from the long genealogy of chiefs, from the fact that a much denser population has existed in times past on these islands, and from the circumstance that ancient tradition though it speaks of the arrival of persons here from abroad, yet uniformly recognizes a previous population. Tradition does not reach back to the origin of the nation.

The Christian is curious to inquire at what time the people fell into a state of heathenism. We know that all the inhabitants of the earth descended from Noah. The children of Noah and some generations down must have known the great Jehovah, and the leading principles of true religion. There was a time, of course, when the ancestors of the Hawaiian nation were acquainted with the true God and the service which He requires.

To one inquiring how this knowledge was lost, the sacred scriptures furnish full information in regard to this, as in regard also to all heathen nations. "When they know God they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore, God also gave them up"—and woe to a people when God shall forsake them! Left to their own reprobate mind and depraved lusts, the descent is quick and easy down to that region of thick darkness and low degradation which we denominate heathenism.

When did the ancestors of the Hawaiian nation relapse into a state of heathenism? The only answer is, from time immemorial. The most ancient tradition bears no mark of a better state. Go back to the very first reputed progenitors of the Hawaiian race and you find that the ingredients of their character are lust, anger, strife, malice, sensuality, re-

venge, and the worship of idols. These and the like traits of character are incidentally interwoven in every story that is told, of ancient chiefs, from the termination of their genealogy, back even to Wakea and Papa where tradition is confused and lost.

According to tradition, their idol worship or tabu system was in force as early as the reign of their first kings; and its origin is imputed to the vilest and fiercest passions. It is represented as a price paid to the gods for license to commit crime—a characteristic common to pagan nations the world over.

Wakea, the first in genealogy, as stated above, is represented as contriving by the aid of a priest, to commit incest with his own daughter, unobserved by Papa his wife. To accomplish this purpose the tabu system is introduced. Certain nights are made tabu to Wakea and certain nights tabu to Papa his wife, by which means they can be conveniently separated. Then other restrictions are introduced to appease the gods. The priest says: "This is one step—withdraw yourself and eat not with Papa your wife. This is another—consecrate as sacred to the gods a part of the fish and food and beasts.—Furthermore let temples be built for the deities,—for Ku, for Lono, for Kane, and Kanaloa; also for the forty thousands of gods and for the four hundred thousands. And lastly, of everything obtained by the hand of man, let the first fruits be devoted to the deities." Then certain days are made tabu, or consecrated to the gods. After this contrivance with the priest and this tax paid to the gods for the privilege of sinning, Wakea accomplishes his purpose. Papa, his wife, detects his sin, and thence arise quarrels and strife. Wakea in his wrath imposes certain tabus or restrictions upon Papa, prohibiting her from eating pork and bananas and cocoanuts and also certain kinds of fish. He imposes the restriction that a man and a woman should not eat together in the same house, but each in a separate place for the purpose. Wakea then spits in Papa's face and forsakes her.

Whether this tradition furnishes a hint, or not, to the

origin of the tabu or restrictive system, it shows certainly that the idea was common that if they devoted certain things to the gods as offerings, accompanied with worship, the gods would be satisfied and allow them to perpetrate what crimes they pleased. It shows too that every ray of true light and every vestige of correct principle had been lost from time immemorial. Their condition was one of absolute ruin. For ages untold they had stumbled on the dark mountains; for all their traditions, however remote, bear the impress of degradation, pollution, and blood.

For many generations, then, or farther back than tradition can trace, they had been sinking deeper and deeper in all that hardens the heart to deeds of cruelty, and in all that degrades and brutalizes both the body and soul. Like a sinking weight, they had sunk lower and lower; and like a malignant disease, their case had become more and more inveterate. The state of heathen society cannot, from the nature of the case, be stationary. It is even worse now than when described by the Apostle Paul. Who can measure the immense depths to which for ages sinking the degraded islanders had sunk, and to which Satan, in his undisturbed efforts for many centuries, had succeeded in reducing them. It was a long period of deplorable moral darkness, in which multitudes groped through their term of probation; and such having been the obliquity of their course at its commencement, one's heart fails him in the contemplation of their future and immortal destiny. How immense the multitude who sunk to a cheerless grave and to a dark eternity before the light of the gospel beamed upon them!

Before proceeding farther with the narrative it may be proper here to notice their ancient division of time and some few ancient traditions.

It is said that their division of time was made by their first progenitor Wakea at the time of his domestic quarrel to which we have already alluded. Be this true or false, the tradition shows that their division of time was very ancient.

In their reckoning, there were two seasons, summer and winter. When the sun was perpendicular and moved toward the north, and the days were long, and the trees bore fruit, and the heat was prevalent,—that was summer. But when the sun was perpendicular and moved towards the south, and the nights were lengthened, and the trees without fruit, and the cold came,—that was winter. There were also six months in each season. Those of the summer were, Ikiki, Kaaona, Hinaialeele, Kamahoemua, Kamahoehope, and Ikua. The winter months were, Welehu, Makalii, Kalo, Kaulua, Nana, and Welo. These twelve months united constituted one year. Welehu was the completion of the year, and from Makalii the new year was recokoned. In one year there were nine times forty nights. The nights were counted by the moon. There were thirty nights in each month, seventeen of which were not very light, and thirteen were; the different nights (and days) deriving their names from the different aspects of the moon, while increasing, at the full, and waning. The first night was called Hilo, (to twist,) because the part then seen was a mere thread; the next, a little more plain, Hoaka, (crescent); then Kukahi, Kulua, Kukolu, Kupau, Olekukahi, Olekulua, Olekukolu, Olekupau. When the sharp points were lost in the moon's first quarter, the name of that night was Huna, (to conceal); the next on its becoming gibbous, Mohalu, then Hua; and when its roundness was quite obvious, Akua. The nights in which the moon was full or nearly so, were Hoku, Mahealani, and Kolu. Laaukukahi was the name of the night in which the moon's decrease became perceptible. As it continued to diminish the nights were Laaukulua, Laaupau, Olekukahi, Olekulua, Olepau, Kaolakukahi, Kaloakulua, Kaloapau. When the moon was very small the night was Maui, and that in which it disappeared, Muku. The month of thirty days is thus completed.

From each month four periods were selected, in which the nights were consecrated, or tabu. The following are the names: Kapuku, Kapuhua, Kapukaloo, and Kapukane; the first consisted of three nights; commencing with Hilo and

terminating with Kulua; the second was a period of two nights, beginning with Mohalu and ending with Akua; the two nights, from Olepau to Kaloakulua; the fourth from Kane to Maui.

It is mostly in reference to the sacred seasons that I have here introduced their division of time. The method of reckoning by the moon, led, of course, to many irregularities. On a future page I may, perhaps, notice some of them.

It is frequently remarked that every barbarous nation has some traditions more or less distinct of ancient events narrated in the Holy Scriptures, and some customs and practices also that indicate the common origin of the human race. The remark is certainly true of the inhabitants of these islands, and to such an extent that it is not difficult to imagine, that the Hawaiians are a part of the scattered tribes of the children of Israel. I shall advance no opinion, but state what evidence there may be, and leave the reader to judge for himself.

In the regular division of time already mentioned and the occurrence of sacred seasons at intervals four times a month there may be some trace of an ancient weekly Sabbath. There were also yearly feasts, and feasts of the new moon, which were observed with much religious ceremony.

There is a very ancient tradition, dated back in the reign of Owaia, the second in genealogy of the Hawaiian chiefs, which may be introduced here, as it seems to bear some trace of a knowledge formerly existing, but since lost, of a superintending power above. The tradition is of a head having been seen in the heavens, which looked out of a cloud and made the following inquiry: "Who among the kings of the earth has behaved well?" The men here below replied: "Kahiko, one of the kings of this lower world, was a most worthy personage, a wise man, a priest, and an astrologer, promoting the prosperity of his land, and the best interests of his people." The head again inquired, "What earthly king has been notoriously vicious?" Men responded, "His name is Owaia, an impious man, devoid of skill in divination or in war, indifferent to the prosperity of the realms and the

happiness of his subjects. His every thought is absorbed in sensual pleasure, and the gratification of his avarice. He exalts himself by trampling on his subjects, whose felicity he of course fails to consult,—in a word, he pays no regard to the counsels and example of his excellent father.” Then said the voice, “It is no wonder, truly, that the kingdom is driven to ruin, when he who holds the reins is a champion in crime.” Upon this the head disappeared.

The tabu system, making sacred certain times, persons and places, and containing many restrictions and prohibitions, may easily be interpreted as a relic much changed and corrupted, from the ancient ceremonial observances of the Jews.

The Hawaiians offered their first fruits to the gods.

Among the Hawaiians till the arrival of the missionaries, the practice of circumcision was common. The act was attended with religious ceremonies and performed by a priest. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable. The practice did not cease till formally prohibited by Kaahumanu.

Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and continued to a certain season, and till purified by religious ceremonies.

Females after child-birth and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation, and were subjected to ceremonies of purification similar to those of the Jews, on penalty of death.

The Hawaiians had cities of refuge for the same purpose and under similar regulations with those of the Jews.

Hawaiian tradition says that man was originally made of the dust of the earth by Kane and Kanaloa, two of their principal deities.

The Hawaiians have a tradition of the flood, and though connected with many things that are fictitious, it makes distinct allusion to the ark, a laau—not a canoe or ship, but something that floated, the height and length and breadth of which were equal, containing men and also animals and

food in great abundance. The name of Noah frequently occurs in their traditions.

They have the tradition of one Waikelenuiaiku, an abridged story of whom I will here introduce that the reader may judge for himself how much it resembles the history of Joseph.

Waikelenuiaiku was one of ten brethren, who had one sister. They were all children of one father whose name was Waiku. Waikelenuiaiku was much beloved by his father, but his brethren hated him. On account of their hatred they carried him and cast him into a pit belonging to Holonaeole. The oldest brother had pity on him and gave charge to Holonaeole to take good care of him.

Waikelenuiaiku escaped and fled to a country over which reigned a king whose name was Kamohoalii. There he was thrown into a dark place, a pit under the ground, in which many persons were confined for various crimes.

Whilst Waikelenuiaiku was confined in this dark place he told his companions to dream dreams and tell them to him. The night following four of the prisoners had dreams. The first dreamed that he saw a ripe ohia (native apple), and his spirit ate it; the second dreamed that he saw a ripe banana and his spirit ate it; the third dreamed that he saw a hog and his spirit ate it; and the fourth dreamed that he saw awa (a native herb producing intoxicating liquor), pressed out the juice and his spirit drank it. The three first dreams (those pertaining to food) Waikelenuiaiku interpreted unfavorably and told the dreamers they must prepare to die. The fourth dream (that pertaining to drink) he interpreted to signify deliverance and life.

The three first dreamers were slain according to the interpretation and the fourth was delivered and saved.

Afterwards this last dreamer told Kamohoalii the king of the land how wonderful was the skill of Waikelenuiaiku in interpreting dreams, and the king sent and delivered him from prison and made him a principal chief in his kingdom.

The thought may possibly occur to the minds of some readers that this and similar traditions and also the songs

from which extracts have been made are inventions of recent date. Such a supposition is altogether improbable. These traditions are embraced in kaaos, or narrations, that have been taught by father to son and handed down from time immemorial. They were told to the missionaries before the Bible was translated into the Hawaiian tongue and before the people knew much of sacred history. The native who acted as assistant in translating the history of Joseph was forcibly struck with its similarity to their ancient tradition. His mind was wholly absorbed in the idea, and could not be diverted from it.

Neither is there the least room for supposing that the songs referred to are recent inventions. They can all be traced back for generations. They are known by various persons, residing on different islands, who have had no communications with each other. Some of them have their date in the reign of some ancient king, and others have existed time out of mind.

It may also be added that both their narrations and songs are known the best by the very oldest of the people, and those who never learned to read;—by those whose whole education and training were under the ancient system of heathenism. Since the arrival of foreigners on the islands, the people have found many new things to learn and have neglected almost entirely their ancient traditions. With this remark, I proceed.

They have a tradition of a certain person who was swallowed by a fish and afterwards cast out upon dry land,—which may be referred to the history of Jonah.

They have a tradition of one Mauiakalana who retarded the sun in his course and made the day longer to answer his purpose. This may be referred to Joshua.

It may be added, that the poetry of the Hawaiians bears a greater resemblance to that of the Hebrews than to any other, that the structure of the two languages is very similar, and especially that the causative form of the Hawaiian verb is precisely the same with the Hiphil of the Hebrew. Very

few words however can be found in the two languages that resemble each other.

In view of these facts, the thought would not be a very wild and visionary one, that the inhabitants of Polynesia are descended from the children of Israel, and that in the present efforts to convert them to Christ, and in the marked and wonderful success, God is accomplishing his promise which he made to his servant Abraham.

At length it pleased God, for high and benevolent purposes, as later history shows, that the Hawaiian Islands should come to the knowledge of civilized nations. Tradition speaks of several ships seen from the islands before their discovery by Captain Cook; and it speaks of some wrecked there before that time. The following is a tradition of this kind:

In the reign of Kealiiokaloa, king of Hawaii, the fourteenth in genealogy before Kamehameha, a vessel was wrecked at Pale in the district of Keei on the south side of Kealakeakua bay. The vessel was called Konaliloha and the commander Kukanaloa.

The captain and his sister gained the shore. They sat down upon the beach, and seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow. They remained sitting upon the beach for a long time, with their heads bowed down with grief. Therefore the name of that place is called Kulou (bowing down) till the present day. At night-fall, the people of the place received them into their houses, and offered them their usual food, inquiring, "Have you ever seen this kind of food?" The strangers replied, "We have it growing in our country." They then offered the bread fruit and the banana and wild apples, which they received with joy. They soon became habituated to the islands, and mingled with the native population. Kaikioewa the late governor of Kauai is said to be a descendant of these ship-wrecked foreigners.

The earliest hint to Europeans of such a group as the Sandwich Islands, seems to have been somewhat as follows: It is said, in a work of authority, that, thirty-seven years before the arrival of Captain Cook, a Manila vessel was cap-

tured by Lord Anson while in this ocean, and that on board that vessel Lord Anson found a chart on which some islands were newly marked in hand writing, of the latitude and longitude of the Hawaiian Islands, and called by a Spanish name. It is conjectured if not asserted, by some, that Captain Cook had seen this chart and therefore sailed in search of the newly marked islands.

But the islands were never considered as discovered till the arrival of Captain Cook at Kauai, one of the leeward islands of the group, in the year 1778.

I shall be the more minute in giving some account here of the visit of Captain Cook, with the design of developing the utter ignorance, the entire destitution, and deep degradation of the islanders; and of exhibiting, to some extent, the influence of foreigners. Facts incidentally brought to light by historical narrative, have more force with us than direct assertions; and facts in regard to one heathen people throw light on the state of the whole pagan world.

The first island of the group discovered by Captain Cook was Kauai, and the place of his anchorage was at Waimea. Kaneoneo and Keawe were then chiefs of that island. The ship anchored in the night, and in the morning, when the natives on shore saw the strange sight, they were filled with amazement and wild conjecture. Two vessels were at the islands under the command of Captain Cook, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, but the natives in giving the account oftener than otherwise use the singular number. At the first sight they called the ship *moku* (island), and that is their name for a ship to the present day. And then as they gazed at a distance at its towering masts and branching spars, one exclaimed: "It is a forest that has moved out into the sea."

The chiefs commanded some of their men to go in canoes, and ascertain what this wonderful thing might be. They approached so near as to survey the different parts of the ship and the men on board, and returned with the most eloquent and wild description. They spoke of the foreigners with the utmost wonder and amazement—of the whiteness of their skin, the brightness of their eyes, the fitting of their

apparel, the shape of their hats, and the unintelligible character of their language.

Among other things they observed about the ship an abundance of iron. At this they were rejoiced, for they had previously seen small quantities of iron attached to spars that had floated ashore, and had learned its value. A warrior, by the name of Kapupuu, remarked, "I will go and seize the iron, for to plunder is with me house and land." He went, and whilst in the act of purloining was shot and died. The cluster of canoes fled and reported that Kapupuu was slain by a pop-gun, the only instrument like a gun of which they had any knowledge.

The succeeding night there was a discharge of cannon on board, and a display of fireworks. The people were filled with confusion and terror, concluded that the foreigners were superior beings, called the captain a god, and gave him the name of Lono. Ever since, even to the present day, Lono is the common appellation of Captain Cook throughout the islands. So utterly rude at that time were all the notions of the ignorant Hawaiians.

They gave him the appellation of Lono because that was the name of one of their principal and most venerated deities. It was said too that this deity had gone to a foreign land. Therefore, on the arrival of Captain Cook, they imagined at once that it was the return of their god Lono.

An impression of wonder and of dread having been made, Captain Cook and his men found little difficulty in having such intercourse with the people as they chose. In regard to that intercourse, it was marked, as the world would say, with kindness and humanity. But, it cannot be concealed that here and at this time, in the form of loathsome disease, was dug the grave of the Hawaiian nation; and from so deep an odium it is to be regretted, that faithful history cannot exempt even the fair name of Captain Cook himself, since it is evident that he gave countenance to the evil. The native female first presented to him was a person of some rank; her name was Lelemahoalani.

Sin and death were the first commodities imported to the

Sandwich Islands. As though their former ruin were not sufficient, Christian nations superadded a deadlier evil. That evil is sweeping the population to the grave with amazing rapidity. And it is yet to be seen whether the influences of Christianity on the rising race shall stay that desolation.

Kauai was the only island discovered by Captain Cook on his first visit. He sailed thence to the north-west coast of America. In November following he returned, and fell in with other islands of the group. Early in the morning (November 20, 1778) his ship was seen off the eastern shore of Maui. At that time Kalaniopuu, the king of Hawaii, had come from that island to Maui to contend with Kahekili, king of Maui. The east side of Maui had fallen into the hands of Kalaniopuu and Kahekili was fighting with him at Hamakualoa; and Kalaniopuu retiring from the battle dwelt at Wailuaiki in the district of Koolau. There they slept during the night and when they awoke early in the morning they saw Captain Cook's vessel near the shore. As it approached, the people gazed with immense curiosity. They noticed with great particularity its masts, its sails and every part of the ship. But what struck them with peculiar awe and dread were its many yawning portholes, for they had heard from Kauai that from these openings issued smoke, fire and a noise like thunder.

Men had previously arrived in canoes from Kauai, the island first visited by Captain Cook, and had given a description of the foreigners and of their ship to the people of Oahu. And one Moho, an inhabitant of Hawaii, residing at this time on Oahu, went from that island to Maui where he found Kalaniopuu and rehearsed to him all he heard concerning Captain Cook. The account he gave, as handed down by tradition, shows the wildness of their first impressions, the rudeness of all their notions, and their entire and deep ignorance.

The people inquired of the messenger respecting the strangers. He replied, (as tradition says, with grains of exaggeration no doubt), "The men are white—their skin is loose and folding, (mistaking their garments for their skin,

as they themselves in their ignorance of civilized manners had no conception of a well-fitted garment), "their heads are strangely shaped," (mistaking at a distance their hats for their heads, as they in their rude condition had no idea of such a covering)—"they are gods, volcanoes, for fire and smoke issue from their mouths," (a mistake gathered at a distant view from the smoking of cigars)—"they have doors in the sides of their bodies," (mistaking their pockets for openings into their bodies), "into these openings they thrust their hands, and take thence many valuable things—their bodies are full of treasure." Then standing up he thrust a piece of gourd shell into his malo at his side and drawing it thence in imitation of the foreigners, endeavored to give some idea of the unintelligible nature of their language. He then gave a terrific account of the discharge of cannon and the display of fire-works, which had been exhibited at Kauai.

This account, so full of wonder to them, and which shows their utter ignorance of civilized life, was spread throughout the islands with great rapidity; and on the return of Captain Cook, both chiefs and people were disposed to receive him as a god.

Whilst Captain Cook was standing off Maui, Kamehameha went on board, where he remained during the night, and as the vessel disappeared in the evening at sea, the Hawaiians supposed that Kamehameha was carried to a distant land, and Kalaniopuu and the people bewailed his loss. In the morning, however, the vessel returned, set Kamehameha on shore and then sailed.

Captain Cook proceeded from Maui to the large island of Hawaii, and appeared (December 2nd) off the district of Kohala near Kukuipahu. As he approached the island, some of the natives ventured off in canoes, and gazed at the ship at a distance. They saw the strangers eating something red, and pronounced it the flesh of men; they saw fire about their mouths, and supposed it, as they had heard, to issue from their bodies. They returned to the shore, and reported that the men on board were gods—gods of the vol-

cano. That which they supposed to be the raw flesh of men was the red core of the watermelon, brought from Monterey, to which they were then entire strangers; and the fire, of course, was from cigars.

Captain Cook, after passing around the island, anchored at Kealakekua on the 17th of January, 1779. Kalaniopuu was then king of Hawaii, but absent on Maui (as has been remarked), fighting with Kahekili. The week that he arrived was with them a sacred week; and according to custom, no canoe could be launched without the penalty of death. But when the natives saw the ship of Captain Cook coming to anchor, they concluded that if the gods sailed during the sacred week, it was proper for them to do the same, and immediately launched their canoes. They were firm in the opinion that Captain Cook was the god Lono and his ship a (heiau) temple.

How unbounded the influence of foreign visitors upon the ignorant inhabitants of the Pacific! If the thousands of our countrymen who visit this ocean were actuated by the pure principles of the religion of Jesus, how immense the good they might accomplish! But, alas! how few visitors to the western hemisphere are actuated by such principles.

Captain Cook allowed himself to be worshipped as a god. The people of Kealakekua declined trading with him, and loaded his ship freely with the best productions of the island. The priests approached him in a crouching attitude, uttering prayers, and exhibiting all the formalities of worship. After approaching him with prostration the priests cast their red kapas over his shoulders and then receding a little, they presented hogs and a variety of other offerings, with long addresses rapidly enunciated, which were a repetition of their prayers and religious homage.

When he went on shore, most of the people fled for fear of him and others bowed down before him with solemn reverence. He was conducted to the house of the gods, and into the sacred enclosure, and received there the highest homage. In view of this fact, and of the death of Captain Cook, which speedily ensued, who can fail being admonished

to give to God at all times and even among barbarous tribes, the glory which is His due? Captain Cook might have directed the rude and ignorant natives to the great Jehovah, instead of receiving divine homage himself. If he had done so, it would have been less painful to contemplate his death.

Kalaniopuu, the king, arrived from Maui on the 24th of January, and immediately laid a tabu on the canoes, which prevented the women from visiting the ship, and consequently the men came on shore in great numbers, gratifying their infamous purposes in exchange for pieces of iron and small looking-glasses. Some of the women washed the coating from the back side of the glasses much to their regret, when they found that the reflecting property was thus destroyed.

The king, on his arrival, as well as the people, treated Captain Cook with much kindness, gave him feather cloaks and fly brushes and paid him divine honors. This adoration, it is painful to relate, was received without remonstrance.

I shall speak here somewhat minutely of the death of Captain Cook, as it develops some traits of the heathen character, and the influence under which the heathen suffer from foreign intercourse.

After Captain Cook had thoroughly recruited his ship, (February 4th) he put out to sea; but, after a day's sail, he found that one of his masts was defective, and returned to refit it. On his return, the people were friendly, but not so cordial as before. An uneasiness existed in the minds of the natives, from the loss of provisions, bestowed without compensation, and on account of the alienation of their wives, occasioned by the protracted stay of the ship's crew. There was then a sensitiveness which bordered on hostility, and needed only a fit occasion to become so.

It is asserted in Ledyard's account of this melancholy affair, that the principal occurrence that interrupted friendly intercourse was the seizure of the images of the heiau by Captain Cook; but after making repeated inquiries I cannot find that the people attached much importance to that circumstance, though the fact is indeed substantiated.

Some men of Captain Cook used violence to the canoe

of a certain young chief, whose name was Palea. The chief making resistance was knocked down by one of the white men with a paddle.

Soon after, Palea stole a boat from Captain Cook's ship. The theft may be imputed to revenge, or to a desire to obtain the iron fastenings of the boat.

Captain Cook commanded Kalaniopuu, the king of the island, to make search for the boat, and restore it. The king could not restore it, for the natives had already broken it in pieces to obtain the nails, which were to them the articles of the greatest value.

Captain Cook came on shore with armed men to take the king on board, and to keep him there as security till the boat should be restored.

In the meantime was enacted the consummate folly and outrageous tyranny of placing a blockade upon a heathen bay, which the natives could not possibly be supposed either to understand or appreciate. "The large cutter and two boats from the *Discovery* had orders to proceed to the mouth of the bay, form at equal distances across, and prevent any communication by water from any other part of the island to the towns within the bay, or from within to those without."

A canoe came from an adjoining district, bound within the bay. In the canoe were two chiefs of some rank, Kekuhaupio and Kalimu. The canoe was fired upon from one of the boats, and Kalimu was killed. Kekuhaupio made the greatest speed until he reached the place of the king, where Captain Cook also was, and communicated the intelligence of the death of the chief. The attendants of the king were enraged, and showed signs of hostility; but were restrained by the thought that Captain Cook was a god. At that instant a warrior, with a spear in his hand, approached Captain Cook and was heard to say that the boats in the harbor had killed his brother and he would be revenged. Captain Cook, from his enraged appearance and that of the multitude, was suspicious of him, and fired upon him with his pistol. Then followed a scene of confusion, and in the midst of it Cap-

tain Cook being hit with a stone and perceiving the man who threw it, shot him dead. He also struck a certain chief with his sword, whose name was Kalaimanokahoowaha. The chief instinctively seized Captain Cook with a strong hand, designing merely to hold him, and not to take his life; for he supposed him to be a god, and that he could not die. Captain Cook struggled to free himself from the grasp, and as he was about to fall uttered a groan. The people immediately exclaimed, "He groans—he is not a god,"—and instantly slew him. Such was the melancholy death of Captain Cook.

Immediately, the men in the boat commenced a deliberate fire upon the crowd. They had refrained in a measure before for fear of killing their captain. Many of the natives were killed. In vain did the ignorant natives hold up their frail leaf mats to ward off the bullets. They seemed to imagine, that it was the fire from the guns that was destructive, for they not only shielded themselves with mats, but took constant care to keep them wet. Soon, round shot from one of the ships were fired into the middle of the crowd, and both the thunder of the cannon and the effects of the shot, operated so powerfully that it produced a precipitate retreat from the shore to the mountains.

The body of Captain Cook was carried into the interior of the island, the bones secured according to their custom, and the flesh burned in the fire. The heart, liver, etc., of Captain Cook, were stolen and eaten by some hungry children, who mistook them in the night for the inwards of a dog. The names of the children were Kupa, Mohoole, and Kaiwikokoole. These men are now all dead. The last of the number died two years since at the station of Lahaina. Some of the bones of Captain Cook were sent on board his ship, in compliance with the urgent demands of the officers; and some were kept by the priests as objects of worship.

The ships of Captain Cook sailed from Kealakekua on the 23rd of February, and on the 29th, touched at Kauai, thence to Niihau, and from there took their final departure from the islands the 15th of March.

For several years after this melancholy event no ship visited the islands. The opinion was abroad that the inhabitants were exceedingly treacherous and bloody. At length, in the year 1786, the ill-fated La Perouse touched at Maui; and about the same time two vessels engaged in the trade of the north-west coast recruited at the islands. Afterward, the visits of ships were frequent. The following are the names by which the natives called the vessels that anchored at Kealakekua. The first two came together and were denominated Olo. They brought the first beads to the islands. After these Kanikani (knife), which brought the first supply of knives. Then followed in succession, Kapilipakela, Oalomakani, Kane, Koki, Alika, Palaunu, Kapilimaka, and next to this the vessel of Vancouver. These ships touched at Hawaii; besides these there were others which visited Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. The foreign names of these ships I have not been able to obtain.

To our reproach it must be recorded that it was no benevolent motive which sent hither our shipping, but the love of money. The sandal wood was found here. Immortal souls had been found before, but they presented no motive to our enterprise. Sandal wood was discovered, and our ships were soon on the wing. Vast quantities of that article were obtained for mere trifles—carried to Canton, and sold for a high price, where the larger sticks are made into fancy articles of furniture and the smaller pieces burnt as incense to the gods.

Here I cannot but notice, chilling and soul-sickening as it may be, the moral influence of early visitors upon the natives of these islands. Men of traffic were frequent in their visits to the Sandwich Islands for more than forty years before the messengers of Christ arrived here. The children of this world are more forward in enterprise than the children of light. Scarcely a speck exists on the broad ocean, or a nook or corner of either continent, that has not been explored, and frequently visited for purposes of traffic. The love of gain has sent many a ship to the Sandwich Islands, and thousands of our scheming inhabitants, before the

heralds of salvation reached these shores. And what was the influence of men of traffic on the ignorant inhabitants? Precisely the same which is even now exerted on many an island of the Pacific. It is a proverb with seamen that when they pass Cape Horn they hang up their consciences there till they return. There is much truth in this remark. There are worthy exceptions; but to a painful extent the influence of seamen in the Pacific is vastly ruinous.

At the present time there is a check to this influence. There are now islands in the Pacific, the Sandwich Islands among the rest, where such a number of Americans and Englishmen reside of moral and religious character as to create a public sentiment, and form a link of communication with Christian countries. Formerly there was no such restraint. At the present time even there is no such restraint at thousands of islands in the Pacific Ocean. Where there is no one but God to look down and record, there is but little restraint from iniquity; for it remains as true in regard to men now as when the Bible was written, that there is no fear of God before their eyes. Shameful and horrid scenes are acted now under the light of God's sun at places afar off. They were acted formerly at the Sandwich Islands. I shall not attempt to exhibit that conduct, and to portray those scenes. Neither your feelings nor mine would allow of it. I merely state a few things, leaving the full exposure to the day of judgment.

I noticed then, that the choicest productions of the islands were purchased for mere trifles—the price of a hog for instance, was a few inches of rusty iron hoop, which the destitute natives formed into a sort of adze.

Again, among the prominent articles of trade were guns, swords, and other instruments of death. But, what was more deadly, large quantities of ardent spirits were sold among them, which involved the king, chiefs and people in habits of intemperance.

Then, again, many ships, from the time of their arrival till the time of their sailing, were crowded with naked in-

habitants of both sexes, and presented a scene to which it is scarcely possible even to allude.

But, another crime, still more horrid if possible, must be mentioned, of which the following instance may convey some idea. It shows the fact that the ignorant, naked and degraded islanders were scarcely regarded as human beings.

A vessel anchored at Honuaula, on the Island of Maui, the island of my present location. I forbear to give the name of the vessel,* though it is recorded in Hawaiian history. At night a boat attached to the stern of the vessel was stolen, in which a sailor was sleeping. The sailor was killed, and the boat broken in pieces for the purpose of obtaining the nails. The persons engaged in this affair resided in an adjoining village called Olowalu. The captain took his anchor and moved to a position near the village. The captain feigned to be friendly, and the people came off to trade as usual. They surrounded the vessel on all sides, not perceiving that the men on board were making ready their guns, only they found that when any of the canoes went either to the bows or stern of the vessel, they were driven away;—consequently the canoes were crowded together at its sides.

Soon a large crowd of canoes, filled with men and women, were collected, entirely unsuspecting of any evil,—when suddenly a number of cannon were fired upon them, and the waves were covered with the dead and dying.

Mr. Young, who was a seaman on board the vessel and an eye-witness, and afterwards became a resident of the islands, says, "Great numbers were destroyed." The vessel sailed. The natives dragged for the bodies with fish-hooks and collected them on the beach, where their brains flowed out of their broken skulls. These are the main facts. The account with all its particulars is told by a man still living whose scalp was torn off on the occasion by a shot from the vessel.

Another instance of the same kind occurred a few years since at the Washington Islands; and another at a group

*This was the snow "Eleanor," Captain Metcalf.—(Pub.)

of islands farther west; and a long list if necessary might be added. But it is useless to specify instances when they are so numerous. How many such scenes have occurred we leave for God's faithful register to develop.

Under all these evils, unchecked and unmitigated, the Sandwich Islanders suffered, till the word of God reached their shores. During the intercourse of forty years with multitudes from Christian lands, what did they learn? They gained no knowledge of God, or of the way of life. But, as if the guilt and ruin of a heathen state were not sufficient, new modes of crime and new modes of accelerated destruction were introduced from Christian countries.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY CONTINUED.

Visit of Vancouver—Two Officers Slain—His Second and Third Visits—Counsel to Kamehameha—His Possessions—Extent of Evil Influence—Decrease of Population—Petty Kingdoms at time of Cook and of Vancouver—Heathen Emblems—Death of Kalaniopuu—Kamehameha's first War—Affairs on Maui—Kahekili's Message—Second War—Narrow Escape of Kamehameha—Accession of Foreign Skill in Fire Arms—Battles with Kalanikupule, Keoua, Kahekili and Kaeo—Eruption of Kilauea—Death of Keoua—First entry to Honolulu Harbor—Kaeo-Kalanikupule War—Deaths of Cpts. Kendricks and Brown—Seizure and Rescue of Vessels—Battle of Nuuanu and Conquest of the Islands by Kamehameha—Kaumualii cedes Kauai—Conduct and Times of Kamehameha—Arrival of Russians—Alleged Attempt to Possess Kauai—Russians on Oahu—Kamehameha's Policy—His Sickness and Death—Ceremonies Attending—Coronation of Liholiho.

Some ships that visited the islands exerted, on the whole, a good influence. Among these I may name the ship of discovery under the command of Vancouver.

Vancouver visited the islands three several times, in 1792, '93, and '94. At his first visit in 1792, fourteen years after the first arrival of Captain Cook, he touched at Kealahou Bay. Standing off and on inquiring after Kalaniopuu, he learned that he was dead and that Kamehameha succeeded him in the kingdom. He continued his course to Oahu, anchored at Waikiki and thence sailed to Kauai, and thence to the north-west coast of America. He saw Kaumualii, afterwards king of Kauai, who was then only a boy. He sent up sky rockets which filled the people with wonder and fear. Vancouver remarked on this visit that the chiefs and people had diminished; there being by no means so many as the estimate of Captain Cook. It is most natural

to conclude that there must have been an error in Captain Cook's estimate.

When Vancouver sailed from Hawaii to Waikiki, on Oahu, another vessel under his command sailed to the north side of Oahu where the captain and the astronomer were slain. The following is the history of this serious affair.

As the vessel sailed along Koolau, Oahu, the natives saw it at sea, and were astonished at its enormous size, saying, "the coral rocks are floating hither." The vessel approached the shore, and the inhabitants ran inland with fright, vociferating as they went, "Prodigious! prodigious!" until it arrived at Waimea, a place north of Waialua. There the vessel lying off and on, the seamen prepared their water casks, and taking knives for their defense, they put off in their boat for the shore to obtain fresh water; but as the water at the mouth of the stream was brackish they floated the casks some distance inland, and having filled them, a part returned, while the two who were cut off went farther up the stream, until arriving where the natives were numerous, they (the natives) commenced throwing stones with a view to destroy the strangers. Kapaleaiuku cast a stone against the chin of one of the foreigners which knocked him down. When the natives on the other bank saw that one had fallen they came to join in the fray. The white man cried out with the pain inflicted, on which the natives said—"They cry indeed—they are men perhaps,—we thought them gods their eyes were so bright." One remonstrated, "Be not in haste to kill the god Lonoikaoualii,—for great Lono having been slain at Hawaii, this one remained, the great and powerful Pekeku this—he is a god." This remonstrance was vain. The company in the boat returned and obtained their guns and lay upon their oars. Those on board the vessel, perceiving that some of their number had been slain, worked the vessel inland and fired on shore. The natives exclaimed, "What is this whizzing?" One replied, "Don't you know it is burning sand (powder), a deadly thing—it will burn perhaps this day and destroy our land.—Perhaps we shall escape inasmuch as we have

killed the two gods—had they lived among us, we had all been dead men!” The firing continued till evening, when the vessel took her departure.

Vancouver returned from the north-west coast and anchored at Kawaihae, Hawaii, February 14, 1793. The natives were importunate to obtain of him guns and powder. He refused as he did not trade in these articles, greatly desired by the Hawaiians at this period of strife in which the kingdom passed into the hands of Kamehameha. At this second visit, Vancouver met with Kamehameha, and presented him with some cattle from Monterey. The Hawaiians admired the strange animals and called them “puaabipi,” (swine-beef). This was the stock whence have sprung the wild bullocks, which at this time roam over Waimea and Mauna Kea. Vancouver left Kawaihae and anchored at Kealakekua, February 22nd. Kamehameha treated him with great kindness and respect. As there is no fresh water at Kealakekua the natives carried the casks to various other places and filled and returned them to the ship—their remuneration a few inches of iron.

Vancouver advised Kamehameha to put an end to hostilities and dwell in peace with the chiefs of Maui and Oahu; but there is no evidence that he assented to this. The master of the vessel gave to the chief some elegant clothes, and the chief presented him in return a feather cloak for the King of Great Britain.

On the 8th of March, Vancouver left Kealakekua Bay for Lahaina, where he anchored on the 12th. He saw Kahiki, who was an aged man, and recommended him to cease warring with Kamehameha and to live in amity; but his advice was disregarded. From Lahaina he sailed to Waikiki, Oahu, where he made inquiry of Kalanikupule, the chief of that island, concerning the death of the Captain and the astronomer, who were slain at Waimea, and demanded the murderers of his men. The chiefs were unable to obtain them. Vancouver still continued his demand. The chiefs were greatly terrified and took three innocent men, as they have since often acknowledged, and presented them before

Vancouver as the murderers. They were stoned to death in his presence. I mention this fact to show the injudiciousness of urging barbarous chiefs, in such a case, to a point of extremity. Some years after the real murderer was found and executed on board a foreign ship. Vancouver visited Kauai and from thence went again to the north-west coast of America.

From the coast he came a third time to Hawaii, January 9th, 1794, standing off the harbor of Hilo Bay, which he could not enter on account of the unfavorable wind that prevailed at that time. King Kamehameha was residing at Hilo, and went on board Vancouver's vessel and sailed with him for Kealakekua, where having passed by the districts of Puna and Kau, they anchored on the 12th. Vancouver presented the king with other cattle, and also sheep, which were highly esteemed.

Vancouver gave the king much wholesome advice about the protection of his own person, the management of his kingdom, and the course that would be wise for him to take in regard to foreigners. Two foreigners, John Young and Isaac Davis, he recommended as particularly worthy of protection and confidence.

Observing that the king was religiously inclined, Vancouver said: "There is a God above in heaven, and if you desire to worship him, when I return to Britain I will entreat his majesty to appoint for you a clergyman, and when he comes hither you must renounce your tabu system, which is false;—there are no earthly deities—but there is a God in heaven."

There is no evidence that these remarks of Vancouver had any influence on the heathen notions of Kamehameha; but the advice was not lost. In the progress of events an occasion was afforded on which it proved of immense importance. In the proper place I shall show that when referred to in the council of chiefs by John Young, one of the persons recommended to their confidence by Vancouver, it seemed to turn the scale in the question whether the first

missionaries should be permitted to land and reside upon the islands.

When the people and chiefs saw that Vancouver consulted their welfare like a real friend, they were grateful to him, and in reply Kamehameha said: "Return to Great Britain, and request her king to protect our country." It was not his intention to surrender it wholly, but to obtain for it protection. And even if it should be maintained that Kamehameha intended to surrender his government to the entire control of Great Britain, the surrender would be a matter of little importance, for Kamehameha had at that time but little to give away. Kahekili was at that time king of Maui, Molokai, Lanai and Oahu; and his brother Kaeo was king of Kauai. The possessions of Kamehameha were on Hawaii alone, and consisted of the districts of Kona, Kohala and Hamakua which he had recently confirmed by conquest. He was often at war with the hostile chiefs of the other districts of Hawaii,—Hilo, Puna and Kau, and succeeded in making them tributary, but he did not acquire undisputed possession of those districts till after he had subdued the leeward islands;—a period several years after the visit of Vancouver.

Vancouver sailed to Kauai, and took his departure from that island to England, but did not visit Hawaii afterwards. Lehua, a native who had visited foreign lands, acted as interpreter for Vancouver and Kamehameha.

Though the conduct of Vancouver was marked with kindness and generosity, yet truth demands that something more should be said.

He, like others, countenanced the practice of giving a few inches of rusty iron hoop as a compensation for the best productions of the islands, and the most arduous services of the natives. Neither can we record his name, nor that of Captain Cook, as standing pure and aloof from the fearful work in which their men were engaged,—of spreading about them degrading evils and a desolating curse.

If the most kind, honorable, and respected visitors thus countenanced iniquity, what think you has been the influence

of the mass of seamen on the degraded heathen? The degraded heathen, I say; for the influence exerted at the Sandwich Islands is substantially the same as that exerted upon barbarous nations the world over. O! if the shores of Africa, of Asia, of the unnumbered isles, and of our own north-western wilderness could speak, how fearful and black the array of crime they would reveal, and how deep and inexpressible the notes of woe! The improvements in navigation and the facilities of commerce are bringing Europeans in close contact with every heathen nation, with the whole array of deadly evils of which I have made mention in regard to the Sandwich Islands. As things now are, Satan has a thousand missionaries in the field where Jesus Christ has one. Evil influences are continually going out from among us to heathen lands, and the extent of those influences eternity will reveal.

When some of our exploring missionaries arrived at the head of the Black Sea, where no foreign vessel was allowed by law to approach, the first thing which attracted their attention was a cask marked *N. E. Rum*.

I noticed in the message of the President of the United States a few years since, it was said that the Russian government had refused to renew a stipulation by which our ships were allowed to have free access to their ports on the north-west coast,—and on the ostensive ground that our ships have carried thither scarcely anything else but fire-arms and ardent spirits. What a deep reproach to us that a nation like the Russian should forbid us to enter its ports, because of the moral evils we disseminate!

This pestilential and deadly influence was exerted upon the Sandwich Islanders without alleviation, for the long period of forty years before the introduction of Christianity. For many, very many long years, among the thousands who visited them, there was no herald of salvation; and among the many commodities brought to their shores, there was anything to be found but the bread of life. The river of intemperance was made to run through the land, and, con-

nected with the curse of infamous dissipation, made quick work in numbering the unwary people for the grave.

This remark leads me to another topic, the decrease of population. Captain Cook estimated the population at 400,000. Vancouver, (as before remarked), visited the islands fourteen years after their discovery by Captain Cook. During this time no sweeping disease or more devastating war than usual had intervened, and yet Vancouver found that the population was much less than the estimate of Captain Cook. For some reason, therefore, the estimate of Captain Cook must have been quite too high.

But tradition, and the very appearance of the islands, show that the population in years past was far greater than at present. The present population of the islands is not far from 108,000. For this decrease many causes may be assigned, such as, first, an extensive war, which raged about the time of Vancouver's several visits; then the plague, which swept over the islands soon after, which, as some of the more intelligent of the natives who lived at the time affirm, swept off the majority of the people; deaths were so sudden and frequent that the living could not bury the dead. Infanticide also may be mentioned, human sacrifices and things of a like kind. But most of these causes have ceased to exist, and the depopulation still goes on. Facts carefully gathered the last few years show an evident decrease of population. There is, then, another cause,—a cause still operating; and what is it? It is principally that to which we have already alluded—not the contact of savages with civilization, as some assert, but the known stamp of God upon a prevailing vice. At Rarotonga, an island shut out by its coral reefs from foreign shipping, the population is increasing, whilst Christianity and civilization are rapidly advancing. This is the testimony not only of missionaries, but of gentlemen of the Exploring Expedition. It is this latter cause, then, in its various shapes and with its attendant evils, that is mowing down heathen nations at so fearful a rate. Nations, I say; for, so far as facts have been gathered, almost every barbarous nation is rapidly decreasing. The dissemination

of evils from Christian lands is laying the earth waste. And the guilt of such havoc, who can estimate? And the reputation of sweeping the earth of its population, and glutting the pit of hell! O! who can envy it but the arch-fiend himself! It would seem that even Satan would be more than satisfied with the immense desolation we are spreading in every heathen land. O! when will the redeeming influence of the gospel of Jesus begin to keep pace with the ruin we are spreading! When will the number of heathen souls we save instrumentally equal the number of those that we destroy! O, when shall it once be! that we shall go into all the earth, and visit every creature, not to destroy mankind, but to preach the gospel! When shall we cease to add and superadd crimes and curses to those already existing among the barbarous and degraded. Is not their present condition, without any aggravating causes, sufficiently gloomy and appalling?

The narrative thus far has had respect principally to the discovery of the islands and the intercourse of the people with foreigners. It is time, perhaps, to turn our attention to the internal affairs of the nation.

Various political events of rapid succession and of an important character, demand a notice.

The islands, at the time of their discovery by Captain Cook, were divided into many independent and petty kingdoms. Kalaniopuu was king of Hawaii and East Maui; Kahakili was King of West Maui; Kumakoa was king of Molo-kai; Keliiaa was king of Lanai; Peleioholani was king of Oahu; and Keawe was king of Kauai. In tracing back the genealogy of these several kings they run into the same original stock; the principal branches of descent being three; the first, that of the kings of Hawaii, the second, that of the kings of Maui and the small islands adjacent, the third, that of the kings of Oahu and Kauai. Besides this relation by blood, they were all variously connected by intermarriage; if indeed it be proper to use the term marriage in reference to such a state of society. But, no alliance either by blood or marriage had much influence in preserving peace. Among

so many petty kingdoms there were abundant occasions of jealousy, and of course, an almost constant scene of war. Kingdoms passed rapidly from one possessor to another and changes were so frequent that in tracing back the history it is exceedingly difficult to avoid confusion.

About fourteen years after the discovery of the Islands, at the time of Vancouver's visit, the six petty kingdoms above named had become merged into three; Kamehameha was king of Hawaii, Kahekili was king of all Maui, Molokai, Lanai and Oahu; and Kaeo, brother of Kahekili, was king of Kauai. I have in my possession a record of many of the wars that resulted in these changes, but to burden history with a minute account of battles and conquests would be quite unprofitable. Far back as memory goes, war was a principal occupation of both chiefs and people.

It does not appear that many of their wars were very destructive of human life. The evil of bloodshed in many cases did not appear so great as the destruction of food by the conquering party and the subsequent miseries of famine. There were some exceptions—some instances of extensive and horrid massacre. Soon after the conquest of Oahu by Kahekili, various conspiracies and attempts at revolt were detected, and were revenged by the king in an immense slaughter of the people. The event is called Kapoluku, which signifies the night of slaughter. It is said that so many dead bodies were thrown into Niuhelewai, a river just west of Honolulu, as to interrupt the course of the stream. A house of considerable size was afterwards built at Moanalua of the bones of the slain. A house constructed of human bones would be no unfit emblem among others in forming a picture of heathenism!

Another emblem of the like kind might be that which took place not long before on Kauwiki, a hill at the eastern extremity of Maui. The besieged were so reduced by famine that they came down and surrendered themselves to their enemies, who instead of showing any mercy, slew them and then wrapped the dead bodies in leaves and

baked them all in an oven or a hole in the earth, in the same way that they would cook a hog or a dog.

Add to these the sight of human sacrifices offered to the gods before a battle and the butchery of captives after conquest and presentation on the altar; and look, if imagination can bear the picture, at the disgusting and horrid pile of human bodies left to putrefy and rot before the grim visage of a hideous idol. How low and revolting must be their thoughts of deity who imagine that such offerings can gratify and please!

In all their ancient wars these and the like scenes were familiar. The detail is monotonous and sickening. I shall therefore avoid the narrative of war, except so far as connected with important changes. The conquest of the islands by Kamehameha it is necessary to record with some minuteness, but previous wars may, without much loss, pass into oblivion.

It is not remembered that any chiefs before Kamehameha succeeded so far as to conquer the whole group of islands. Umi, the fourteenth back in traditional history, was a powerful chieftain, and extended his conquests farther perhaps than any one except Kamehameha. He reigned from Hawaii to Molokai, leaving unsubdued Oahu and Kauai. The conquest of Kamehameha changed very essentially the aspect of political affairs at the islands and it is therefore of importance to trace the commencement, progress and consummation of his career.

Kamehameha was the reputed son of Keoua, otherwise called Kalanikupuapaikalaninui, a younger half brother of Kalaniopuu, king of Hawaii. It is said, however, that Kamehameha was the real son of Kahekili, king of Maui, and that Kahekili gave him the name of his brother, which was Kamehameha. It will be seen as we proceed that Kahekili himself asserted this to be the fact.

When Keoua, the father of Kamehameha, died, he commended his son to the care of Kalaniopuu, who received him, and treated him as his own child. Kiwalao, a real son of Kalaniopuu, occasioned much trouble to his father, and in

several instances proceeded so far as to engage in open revolt. Kamehameha seems always to have been obedient and to have possessed the good will of Kalaniopuu.

Kalaniopuu died at Kau on Hawaii. Before his death he bequeathed his kingdom—the island of Hawaii—in two parts to Kiwalao and Kamehameha. The island consisted of six districts; three districts he gave to Kiwalao and three to Kamehameha, adding that Kiwalao, his own son, should have the supremacy, and Kamehameha should be subordinate. The districts given to Kiwalao were Kau, Puna, and Hilo, and at that time considered the most valuable; those given to Kamehameha were Kona, Kohala and Hamakua.

This arrangement was not satisfactory to Kiwalao and his counsellors. After the death of Kalaniopuu and the customary period of wailing, Keawemauihili and other chiefs and warriors were importunate with Kiwalao to make war on Kamehameha and his forces at Kona. They were particularly desirous to obtain Kona, as the sea in that vicinity is calm and affords good advantages for fishing.

The expedition was disguised under cover of carrying the body of Kalaniopuu to Kona to deposit it there, for at that place was a famous receptacle for the bones of chiefs. The corpse of Kalaniopuu was placed on one of the canoes in which the chiefs and people went to Kona for the purpose of war. Keaumoku, one of Kamehameha's counsellors, met the expedition at Kapalilua in Kona, and seeing the dead body of Kalaniopuu, united with them in wailing. On observing that the appearance of the men and chiefs was somewhat peculiar, he inquired: "Where shall we deposit the corpse?" They replied: "It is to be deposited at Kailua." Then he clearly perceived from their pressing on with all haste to Kailua that they had warlike intentions.

The expedition was overtaken with a storm off Honau-nau. They landed and left the body of the chief in the house of Keawe, the house of idol gods and the famous depository of the bones of chiefs.

In the meantime, Keaumoku set out for Kohala to inform Kamehameha; but as Kekuhaupio had previously sent for

him, they met at Kekaha, where Keaumoku related to Kamehameha all he had seen and heard among the canoes bringing the corpse, from which the conclusion was drawn that war was impending. After a consultation on the course to be pursued, they sailed near Kaawaloa and Keei, where they met with Kiwalao coming down from Honaunau, who, after they had united in lamentations for the dead, addressed Kamehameha in the following terms: "Alas! for us two. We are as dead men. Here is the aged chief, Keawemauihi, instigating us and ours to fight,—perhaps you and I only shall be slain." It would appear from these expressions that Kiwalao was urged, much against his own inclination, to engage in contest with Kamehameha.

Kiwalao returned to Honaunau, and, entirely confident of victory, proceeded to parcel out the yet unconquered country in presents to his chiefs. One of the chiefs, whose name was Keoua, a half brother of Kiwalao, was entirely neglected in the distribution, ill-treated and insulted. He and his men, therefore, practised disguise and went off, carrying their weapons of war and determined upon a reckless course that they might vent their rage. They proceeded to Keomo, cut down cocoanut trees and slew a number of Kamehameha's men, who did not die unrevenged, there being a loss on the other side. They skirmished three days, when at length a general conflict was brought on between the forces of Kamehameha and Kiwalao.

The chiefs under Kamehameha in this battle were Keaumoku, Keaweahu, Kameeiamoku, Kamanawa, Kekuhapi and all of Kamehameha's younger brothers. While the battle was raging, Keaumoku, who encountered the warriors of Kiwalao, being entangled by a long spear, was thrown down and seized by two of his enemies, Nuhi and Kahai, who smote him with short wooden daggers, while one with a spear pierced him, exclaiming, by way of triumph and derision, "The weapon strikes the yellow-back crab." Keaumoku was weak and nearly dead, and heard Kiwalao giving orders to his men to preserve the ornament of whale's tooth at his neck from being besmeared with blood. He

regarded his death as inevitable, but at that instant his friends flew to his rescue and saved his life. Soon after, when Kiwalao was struck with a stone and prostrated, Keaumoku rose with renewed strength, seized Kiwalao by the neck and cut his throat with an instrument of shark's teeth. This Keaumoku was the father of Kaahumanu, the late Queen Regent, so distinguished for her value to the nation and her private Christian character; of Kuakini, present governor of Hawaii; of Hoapiliwahine, present governess of Maui, and several other personages of eminence and worth not long since deceased.

Kamehameha fought valiantly in this contest and his foes were routed. This was one of his first wars, and was followed by a series of battles which secured for him eventually the entire kingdom of the Sandwich Islands. The immediate result, however, of this first victory was merely to confirm in his hands those three districts of Hawaii,—Kona, Kohala and Hamakua, which had been bequeathed to him by Kalaniopuu.

Keoua, the ill-used chief before named, when he saw that Kiwalao was slain, threw himself into the sea, and by his expertness in swimming, escaped, fled to Kau and became chief or king of that district. Keawemauhili, the chief who instigated the war, escaped to the mountains and thence to Hilo and became king of Hilo and Puna. Thus the island was divided into three kingdoms.

About the time of the battle above narrated, Kahekili, king of west Maui, had taken advantage of the death of Kalaniopuu, waged war with the chief left in charge of east Maui and annexed that peninsula to his own dominion. The last battle which crowned his success was that on the hill of Kauwiki in Hana, to which I have already referred.

Kamehameha heard of his success, and feeling that east Maui belonged to his kingdom of Hawaii, made preparations at once to pass over the channel and oppose Kahekili. As the latter was returning from the scene of victory and had reached Kahikinui, he heard that Kamehameha, with a fleet of canoes, was at Kamilo, in Kohala, directly across the

channel, on the point of sailing to give him battle.

On receiving this information, Kahekili immediately sent his younger brother, whose name was Alapai, to Kamehameha with the following orders: "Go, and bestow our kingdom upon our son; and if he will receive it, well; but if he does not recognize me as his father and will not respect the gift, but insists upon war, then tell him that both he and his soldiers shall die in their youth, before the going down of the sun. If, indeed he shall listen to my request, then say to him, 'Wait till the black tapa (native cloth) shall cover me and my funeral rites shall be performed, then come and receive his kingdom, without the peril of war,'—for indeed, he is my son, and from me he received his name, Kamehameha, after that of my elder brother."

Alapai, having received this message, hastened to execute it, and met Kamehameha at Kamilo, the place before named. Kamehameha inquired, "What is your message?" Alapai replied, "Your father sent me to bestow upon you his kingdom, saying, 'Wait till the black tapa shall cover me and my funeral rites shall be performed, and then come and receive it without the peril of war.'" Kamehameha yielded assent and dismissed his warlike intentions.

Not long after this event, Kanakoa, a chief under Keawemauihili rebelled and fought against his king; was defeated and fled for protection to Keoua, against whom he afterwards rebelled also, made war, was defeated and slain. A relative of his, to avenge his death, rose up, tore off his only garment and marched with his soldiers to Kamehameha at Kona, who, observing the plight in which he came, was touched with pity and espoused his cause. Forthwith, his counsellors, approving the measure, marched to Hilo to prosecute the war. The names of the men were, Keaumoku, Keaweaeulu, Kameeiamoku and Kamanawa. These were his counsellors on all subjects of importance; and their children continue to be the advisors of Kamehameha's successors. After a little delay, the war commenced against the kingdoms of Hilo and Kau. The first scene of action was on a mountain in the latter district, from which it was

extended in various contests through the whole of Kau, Puna and Hilo. This second war was a long and doubtful struggle and well named (*kauaawa*) bitter contest. The two kings, Keawemauhili and Keoua, were weakened but not vanquished.

Kamehameha retreated to Laupahoe, whence, after a little delay, he went to Hilo to prosecute his conquests, and had an encounter with a company of fishermen at Puna.

As Kamehameha sprang into the surf, his foot slipped into the crevice of a rock and was held fast, whilst some pelted him with stones and one beat his forehead with the paddle of a canoe. Owing to his great strength he succeeded in defending and extricating himself, but barely escaped with his life.

The war raged with various success on both sides, when at length Kamehameha consented to an interview with Keawemauhili and they mutually agreed upon terms of peace.

In this war Kamehameha found a company of soldiers sent by Kahekili of Maui to the aid of his opponent Keawemauhili and commanded by Kahahawai, one of Kahekili's favorite men. The explanation is this: Some time before Kahekili, planning an expedition to Oahu, had sent to Kamehameha requesting a canoe. Kamehameha did not honor his request. Keawemauhili, hearing of the circumstance, sent immediately a very large double canoe, as a present to Kahekili. Kahekili, in return, sent Kahahawai one of his favorite men with a company of soldiers to reside with Keawemauhili. The war taking place soon after, these soldiers of Kahekili took part in it.

After the war, Kahahawai and his soldiers sought an interview with Kamehameha and threw themselves on his mercy. Kahahawai thus addressed him: "Here we are, and if you command us to lift up our heads, then we lift them up; if you say, Bow down in the dust, then we bow down; and if you say Die, then we die." Kamehameha, according to the uniform mildness and generosity of his nature, bid them to return to Maui in peace.

But this interference of Kahekili in the Hawaiian con-

test is an important circumstance to be noted, for it was regarded by Kamehameha as a just cause of war and led him at length to engage in the several expeditions, in which he conquered the leeward islands.

Kamehameha had fought both of the battles already noticed with only those rude weapons of war which were common on the islands. He had prevailed by his own mere strength and skill. But from this time forward his success was owing in no small measure to the assistance he derived from a few foreigners with fire arms.

On board the vessel* that committed the outrage at Olowalu, already narrated, was a seaman whose name was John Young. The vessel after the outrage sailed for Hawaii and appeared there in company with a small sloop,† where Mr. Young, having landed, was detained by Kamehameha, partly because he desired a white man to be in his service, and partly because he feared that Mr. Young might disclose the fact that the sloop had been taken by Kameeiamoku, an event which occurred at this time. The king treated Mr. Young with great kindness.

Kameeiamoku had received insult and blows on board a ship and had from that time meditated revenge. He said, "If a vessel shall come in my way, destruction be to it." He was residing at Kaupulehu when the small sloop hove in sight, and his purpose was fixed to capture it. He gave orders to his men, thus: "Let the canoes be ready—we will go and cut off the foreigner's vessel." The canoes were made ready and they went alongside. They slew the captain and the seamen, five in number. Isaac Davis, one of the seamen, was carried off for dead; he revived, however, and was suffered to live. He was taken care of by Kamehameha in company with John Young. Kamehameha took possession of the sloop and built a covering over it with the intention of preserving it and of restoring it to the owners should they ever call for it. It was characteristic of Kamehameha to bestow great attention and respect to the inter-

*Eleanor.

†Fair American.

ests of foreigners—a characteristic which secured their co-operation against all his opponents and led to his ultimate triumph.

Kameeiamoku, the chief who captured the sloop, was the father of Hoapili, the late governor of Maui, who always stood firm on the side of Christianity and left a noble testimony on his dying bed. Notice the change; the father a revengeful murderer, the son a meek and quiet disciple of Jesus and a firm supporter of the Christian religion! What cannot God accomplish!

The two seamen above named, John Young and Isaac Davis, being kindly treated by Kamehameha, fought in his ranks with the use of fire arms, struck terror to the hearts of his foes and made him in every battle superior and irresistible.

Kamehameha rested a considerable time from war, when perceiving his increased strength, and still remembering the provocation of Kahekili, the king of Maui, he determined upon a hostile expedition to this island. He sent orders to Keawemauhili, king of Hilo, and to Keoua, king of Kau, that each should furnish a company of soldiers for the expedition. Keawemauhili assented, but Keoua denied all allegiance and utterly refused. Among the soldiers sent by Keawemauhili was Kalanimanokahoo-waha, the chief who slew Captain Cook.

Kamehameha sailed to Maui and found his opponent in prince Kalanikupule, the son of Kahekili, his father being absent at Oahu. The two hostile forces met in a narrow and deep defile of the mountain leading from Olowalu to Wailuku. I once with much fatigue and labor passed through that gap of the mountain and was amply paid for the toil. Prospects more picturesque, grand and awful I scarcely ever beheld. As we traced a narrow foot path, winding in many places on the very verge of tremendous precipices, we were pointed to the spot where the armies met. As there was little room for flight the contest was desperate, but Kamehameha prevailed. Many of the enemy and some too of his own men were precipitated down the preci-

pices and dashed in pieces at the bottom. Some were chased to the high peaks and cliffs of the mountains and reduced by starvation. Others were slain in the open ground and thrown into the river Iao which runs down the ravine. The prince Kalanikupule fled and made his escape to Oahu. It is said that so many of his army were slain and thrown into the waters of the Iao, a very considerable river, as to stop the progress of the stream. This engagement was known by three appellations: Kapaniwai (stopping the water), Kauaupali (battle of the precipice), and Iao (the name of the stream).

By this victory, Kamehameha came in possession of Maui and the adjacent islands, Molokai and Lanai. Whilst Kamehameha was at Kaunakakai, on Molokai, he sent a messenger to Kahekili on Oahu, saying: "Send to me an ulumaika"—(a stone made smooth and round prepared to roll upon a long and even track in a favorite game of chance). He meant by this concealed form of expression a challenge to engage in battle, and as such it was understood. Kahekili replied: "I, and I only, am the ulumaika by which he can sweep over the whole length of the track. Return and say to him, 'Wait till the black tapa shall cover me, then from Hawaii as a starting point, cast the ulumaika; it shall sweep the whole group of islands without obstruction and reach even to foreign shores.'"

Kamehameha was disposed to tarry a little time to distribute to his dependents the lands he had gained and to regulate affairs to his mind. But news from Hawaii called him away unexpectedly, and he was obliged to leave these several islands to pass back again into the hands of Kahekili.

During the time of this expedition, the two kings of Hilo and Kau fell out and engaged in war and Keawemauhili was slain by Keoua. Infatuated with success, he determined to take to himself the three districts of Kamehameha and destroy his subjects. With this view he went to the fruitful and important valley of Waipio, destroyed the food

growing there and committed wanton outrage not only upon property, but upon men, women and children.

Kamehameha was at Molokai when he heard of the outrages committed by Keoua. He sailed immediately with all his forces for Hawaii and landed at Kawaihae. Keoua was about twelve miles inland at Waimea. The armies soon met midway between those two places and engaged in battle. Keoua drew off and effected a retreat over the mountain. Kamehameha hastened by a shorter route to Hamakua to intercept him. The armies therefore met again and engaged in a fierce and bloody contest. The forces of Kamehameha gave way and were nearly routed, when a few foreigners with muskets, who, it would seem, had been reserved for such a crisis, began to discharge their balls and turned at once the tide of battle. Keoua fled to Kau, where he continued for some time to reside, but quite dispossessed of strength and humbled in his pride.

About this time, Kaeo, king of Kauai, arrived with his forces at Oahu and urged Kahekili to unite with him in an expedition against Kamehameha. Kaeo was a younger brother of Kahekili. Some years before he had left Maui, married Kamakahelei, the chief woman of Kauai, and had become king of that island. He now proposed to his brother that they should unite their forces and oppose the increasing power of Kamehameha. Kahekili assented and the combined fleet of canoes sailed to Maui. Among other means of warfare they took several large dogs, which were trained to attack men and which they had obtained from foreign ships. The name of Kahekili's dog was called Boki, probably from the English appellation Bos, and from this dog was named a chief born at that time,—the famous chief Boki, who accompanied Liholiho to England and afterwards became governor of the island of Oahu.

From Maui they sailed to Hawaii full of boasting and confident of victory, for their forces were great. They landed first in the valley of Waipio and committed many wanton outrages upon the property of the place and upon the people. Kamehameha hastened to meet this invading

force. The engagement took place in canoes off Kohala. The contest was not long, for the firearms of Kamehameha being not only destructive, but also strange and new, struck terror at once to the hearts of the enemy and scattered this numerous fleet in confusion. The vanquished chiefs fled to Maui, but the greater part of their fleet of canoes was lost. This expedition received its name from the principal means of its ill success—Kapuawahaulaula, (the red-mouthed gun.)

On arriving at Maui, Kahekili bestowed that island upon Kaeo and then proceeded to Oahu. There he soon sickened and died, leaving his kingdom to his son Kalanikupule.

Kamehameha was residing at Kawaihae and commenced building there a large heiau, or temple—a huge stone enclosure which is still standing. It is called Puukohola. He built it on account of the representations of a priest that a temple erected at that place would be a sure protection against the perils of war. And it is melancholy indeed to stand upon that gloomy pile of stones and call to mind that a multitude of human victims have been offered there in sacrifice to idols and that not many years since their putrefying corpses and bleaching bones might have been seen on these very altars.

Whilst this heiau was being built, Kaiana, Namakeha and some other chiefs in the train of Kamehameha went with soldiers to Kau to exterminate Keoua. But Keoua was at Hilo. He heard of the invasion of the enemy and hastened to the scene of action. His path led by the great volcano of Kilauea. There they encamped. In the night a terrific eruption took place, throwing out flame, cinders and even heavy stones to a great distance, and accompanied from above with intense lightning and heavy thunder. In the morning Keoua and his companions were afraid to proceed and spent the day in trying to appease the goddess of the volcano, whom they supposed they had offended the day before by rolling stones into the crater. But on the second night and on the third night also there were similar eruptions. On the third day they ventured to proceed on their way, but had not advanced far before a more terrible and destructive

eruption than any before took place; an account of which, taken from the lips of those who were part of the company and present in the scene, may not be an unwelcome digression.

The army of Keoua set out on their way in three different companies. The company in advance had not proceeded far before the ground began to shake and rock beneath their feet and it became quite impossible to stand. Soon a dense cloud of darkness was seen to rise out of the crater, and almost at the same instant the electrical effect upon the air was so great that the thunder began to roar in the heavens and the lightning to flash. It continued to ascend and spread abroad until the whole region was enveloped and the light of day was entirely excluded. The darkness was the more terrific, being made visible by an awful glare from streams of red and blue light variously combined that issued from the pit below, and being lit up at intervals by the intense flashes of lightning from above. Soon followed an immense volume of sand and cinders which were thrown in high heaven and came down in a destructive shower for many miles around. Some few persons of the forward company were burned to death by the sand and cinders and others were seriously injured. All experienced a suffocating sensation upon the lungs and hastened on with all possible speed.

The rear body, which was nearest the volcano at the time of the eruption, seemed to suffer the least injury, and after the earthquake and shower of sand had passed over, hastened forward to escape the dangers which threatened them, and rejoicing in mutual congratulations that they had been preserved in the midst of such imminent peril. But what was their surprise and consternation, when on coming up with their comrades of the center party, they discovered them all to have become corpses. Some were lying down, and others sitting upright clasping with dying grasp their wives and children and joining noses (their form of expressing affection) as in the act of taking a final leave. So much like life they looked that they at first supposed them merely at rest,

and it was not until they had come up to them and handled them that they could detect their mistake. The whole party, including women and children, not one of them survived to relate the catastrophe that had befallen their comrades. The only living being they found was a solitary hog, in company with one of the families which had been so suddenly bereft of life. In those perilous circumstances, the surviving party did not even stay to bewail their fate, but leaving their deceased companions as they found them, hurried on and overtook the company in advance at the place of their encampment.

In a few days from this time the army of Keoua met their enemies and joined in several battles. At length Kameeia-moku went to Keoua in the disguise of a friend and with much smooth speech and fair promises, prevailed upon him to go to Kawaihae and have an interview with Kamehameha. Keoua and his followers, of whom the narrators of this scene were a part, retreated in the direction they had come. On their return, they found their deceased friends as they had left them, entire and exhibiting no other marks of decay than a sunken hollowness in their eyes; the rest of their bodies were in a state of entire preservation. They were never buried, and their bones lay bleaching in the sun and rain for many years. The missionary who collected a part of these facts well remembers the spot; when traveling over the same ground, several years ago, he discovered an unburied skull lying partly covered in black volcanic sand, but did not at that time understand whether it was supposed to have belonged to that party or not.

A blast of sulphurous gas, a shower of heated embers or a volume of heated steam would sufficiently account for this sudden death. Some of the narrators who saw the corpses affirm that, though in no place deeply burnt, yet they were thoroughly scorched.

Keoua proceeded to Kawaihae, where whilst landing in a canoe, notwithstanding the solemn assurances that had been made to him, he and many of his followers were treacherously put to death. It is said, however, that this deed was

not done at the order of Kamehameha. The body of Keoua and those of his followers who were slain were laid upon the altar of Puukohola,—the immense heiau of Kawaihae. Those who tread upon those ruins may with profit reflect upon this deed of heathenism. A pile of human victims, treacherously slain, offered as a sweet savor to the gods!

Kaeo was not long pleased with his residence on Maui and set out to return to Kauai. He arrived at Oahu and proceeded to Waianae, the extremity of the island, and was on the point of embarking in his canoe for Kauai, when he detected a plot to assassinate him on the passage, instigated, as he supposed, by his rival, Kalanikupule. Upon this discovery he remarked that if he was to die, he was resolved not to die alone; and immediately made preparations to return to Honolulu and engage in battle with Kalanikupule.

At this time there were three vessels in the port of Honolulu, the first that ever entered that harbor. Two of these, a ship called the *Jackall* and a tender called the *Prince le Boo*, were English vessels engaged in the trade of the northwest coast. *Prince le Boo* was the first vessel of any nation that entered Honolulu harbor. Captain Brown spent a considerable time at Honolulu, repairing and remodeling one of his vessels and became quite familiar with the chiefs and people. The other vessel was an American sloop of ninety tons, which sailed from Boston in company with the *Columbia* in 1787, called the *Lady Washington*, and commanded by John Kendrick, the first vessel, it is said, that engaged in the trade of carrying sandal wood from the Sandwich Islands to China.

Captain Brown interested himself in the war, but Captain Kendrick took no part in it.

The first engagement was at Punahawale, where victory leaned to the side of Kaeo and several foreigners who aided Kalanikupule were slain. The next engagement was at Kalauao in which, it is said, that Captain Brown with his men rendered efficient aid to Kalanikupule. In this engagement Kalanikupule was victorious and Kaeo was slain.

On the return of the party to Honolulu, Captain Brown

fired a salute in honor of Kalanikupule's victory. The American sloop was at anchor only a few yards distant, and Captain Kendrick was at dinner in the cabin. A wad, as is supposed, from one of the guns passed into the cabin, struck him in the head and killed him instantly. There was an investigation in the case held by foreigners on board one of the vessels and the decision was that the occurrence was a casualty.

The corpse of Captain Kendrick was brought on shore to be buried. The prayer and burial service were the first from foreigners that the Hawaiians ever witnessed! They considered the service, according to their heathen notions of prayer, and from the circumstances of the case, to be an act of sorcery to procure the death of Captain Brown. How humiliating to reflect that after the intercourse of many years with foreigners from Christian lands the first divine service they should attend and the first prayer they should hear should be under such circumstances as to lead them to pronounce it a revengeful act of sorcery. But if I mistake not, many such facts in regard to heathen nations—more than we are wont to imagine—stand in a dark catalogue on the book of God's remembrance.

On board the *Lady Washington* was a son of Captain Kendrick. He gave charge to Kalanikupule: "Take good care of the grave of my father; if it shall be disturbed it will be at your peril." Notwithstanding this threat, the corpse was disinterred in the night. The only motive alleged, which to them was no inconsiderable one, was to obtain the winding sheet.

The *Lady Washington* soon sailed, but Captain Brown remained at Honolulu a considerable time, cultivating an intimacy with Kalanikupule and furnished him with quite a supply of fire arms. But no sooner were the soldiers of Kalanikupule in possession of fire arms than they felt proud of their strength and were ready for any attempt. A subordinate chief, whose name was Kamohomoho, suggested the scheme of cutting off Captain Brown and his men and taking possession of his ships. Kalanikupule opposed the treach-

erous measure for some time, but at length gave his consent.

There was a quantity of salt down the beach at a place called Lelepaua. Captain Brown was induced to go with his men to fetch the salt, of which he was in need, leaving only a few persons on board his ships to take care of them. As they were returning, laden with salt, they were attacked by the natives and were all killed.. These events probably took place in the latter part of the year 1793. In March of that year Vancouver anchored at Waikiki, when it seems the harbor of Honolulu was not known.

The natives without difficulty took possession of the ships, saving alive the few persons on board to assist in sailing them.

Elated with the acquisition of ships, guns and muskets, Kalanikupule and his consellers immediately determined to sail to Hawaii and give battle to Kamehameha. The ship's deck was soon crowded with soldiers and set sail under the management principally of a few foreigners. When they were fairly out of the harbor off Waikiki, the foreigners began to cover the rigging with oil that was extremely offensive, which so increased the sea-sickness of the king and his soldiers as to be insupportable and they insisted upon returning into the harbor. On setting sail the second time, Kamohomoho advised that the foreigners should go in canoes and natives only on board ship. Kalanikupule replied in English, "No." The soldiers therefore set sail in a fleet of canoes, and the foreigners with Kalanikupule, with all the guns, ammunition and other means of warfare, and a few attendants perhaps, on board ship. The foreigners, instead of sailing for Hawaii, stood directly out into the open ocean, sent Kalanikupule ashore at Waikiki and took a final leave of the islands. It is said they touched at Hawaii and delivered the arms and ammunition to Kamehameha. This event occurred probably in December and January of the years 1793-'94. The base treachery and proud ambition of Kalanikupule were not overlooked by the all-seeing eye.

When the news reached the ears of Kamehameha of the attempted expedition of Kalanikupule and its entire failure,

he, of course, was not slow to concentrate all his forces and to embark with them for Oahu. The contending parties engaged in battle at Nuuanu, the verdant valley back of Honolulu where, as usual, Kamehameha was victorious and his enemies either slain or scattered. Many were precipitated down the precipice at the termination of the valley, a place often visited by strangers. Kalanikupule took refuge in the mountains, where he was soon after sought out and slain.

This was the victory by which Kamehameha came in the entire possession of Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kahoolawe and Oahu, and took place probably in the year 1794. Only Kauai and the small adjacent island, called Niihau, remained to be conquered. Kamehameha resided one year at Oahu, revived the temples and offered oblations preparatory to an excursion to Kauai. At the close of the year he sailed for that island, but, on account of the violence of the wind and waves, he was obliged to put back to Oahu.

Kamehameha sent several messengers to Kauai, and Kāmualii, the king, not only treated the messengers with kindness, but actually surrendered his island, without a contest, to the control of Kamehameha.

After this, Kamehameha heard that an insurrection, headed by Namakeha, had broken out at Hilo, on Hawaii. He repaired immediately thither and quieted the insurgents by the death of their leader. This was the last of the seven wars of Kamehameha, leaving him the undisputed victor, under whom were united in one realm (probably in the year 1796) all the islands of the group from Hawaii to Niihau.

One would be led to suppose that Kamehameha, rising as he did from low rank and becoming by his own talent and prowess victor of the archipelago, would naturally have given way to a vain, haughty and despotic spirit. But Kamehameha possessed not only great powers of body, but also a strong and well-balanced mind and a disposition naturally mild and generous. And it was soon seen, at the commencement of his reign, that he was much more disposed than former chiefs to consult the welfare of his people. He showed to foreigners, also, great kindness and respect and

opened the way to a safe and increasing intercourse with the American and European nations. A short time before the protected and excellent harbor of Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, had been discovered; and that circumstance, combined with the trustworthy character of Kamehameha, soon made the islands a place of resort, not only for trading vessels, but to ships in general traversing the North Pacific; no other port being so convenient for undergoing repairs and for obtaining water and other refreshments.

Kamehameha had his chosen counsellors and wise men, with whom he habitually conferred on matters touching the prosperity of the realm. He enacted laws prohibiting murder, theft, extortion, confiscation and robbery which operated to promote peace and quietness to such a degree that in the expressive language of the Islanders, "old men and women were safe when lying asleep in the path." It is said that Kamehameha gave force to his laws by uniformly obeying them himself.

Kamehameha reposed in quiet at Hawaii for four years. Then he and his chiefs constructed a fleet of canoes from the forests of Hilo, short and deep, for an expedition to Oahu, which was undertaken in the sixth year of his reign, that he might know the state of his kingdom and derive some revenue from his recently acquired territories. This expedition was denominated Kapeleleu, from the name of the canoes just mentioned. He landed first at Maui, and resided at Lahaina a year, during which time Kameeiamoku, one of his counsellors and father of the late governor Hoapili, died. After this he removed to Oahu, where he was seized by the malignant epidemic then common, from which he recovered, but which proved fatal to a multitude and some say, the majority of his subjects, and by which his remaining counsellors were cut down. Their children succeeded them in office but possessed over the king less influence than their fathers.

Kamehameha selected runners to bear his messages, and men to make and row his canoes, and to take fish; in these and in other departments bestowing patronage on those who were acquainted with the business, and withholding it from

the ignorant. It is said, too, his measures were generous and constant, not fickle and oppressive.

He resided sometime at Oahu, and owing to the excellence of his policy all lands from Oahu to Hawaii enjoyed peace. Kamahalolani, son of Kaumualii, king of Kauai, met him at Honolulu and surrendered to him that island, in the name of his father, which Kamehameha gave back to Kaumualii. Afterward, Kaumualii himself came to Honolulu on board a foreign vessel and had a friendly interview with Kamehameha before he landed. As soon, however, as he came on shore the lower chiefs conspired to destroy him, and making use of a sorcerer, proposed the measure to Kamehameha. Kamehameha refused and caused the sorcerer to be slain. The chiefs then laid a plot to take the life of Kaumualii secretly as he was going into the interior with some foreigners. But Isaac Davis, hearing of the plot, gave a signal to the foreigners and Kaumualii to return on board. It is said that for this good act Isaac Davis was soon afterwards poisoned by the ill-minded chiefs. Kaumualii had become quite a favorite with foreigners and through their assistance he was shielded from death. From this time he was still more warmly their friend and in after days it will be seen that he was among the first to welcome missionaries to the islands and to treat them with kindness and hospitality.

The king continued at Oahu nine years, then with his chiefs visited Hawaii, on board foreign vessels. He first set sail on board his own vessel called *Kleoua*. It sprang a plank off Lanai and was only saved through the resolute exertions of Waipa, who leaped into the sea and stopped the leak from the outside till the vessel could return to Honolulu. About this time two vessels engaged in the sandal wood trade arrived from Macao. They were called by Hawaiians *Unihepa* and *Laholoa*.

On board these vessels Kamehameha and most of his chiefs set sail again for Hawaii, Kalanimoku following on the *Keoua*.

Small vessels and canoes with natives accompanied these. They first anchored at Lahaina, then at Kawaihae, and af-

terwards at Kealakekua. From the latter place the king sailed to Molokai, thence to Lahaina to dispose of property which Keeaumoku had collected as a tax on Maui. Then he returned to Hawaii.

After this there was a famine in Kona; he did not, however, increase the general distress by taking from the people, but was sustained by the product of his own labor and that of his men. The piece of ground which he tilled at that time was called Kuaheha; it is in Kailua, Hawaii, and food continues to grow there till this day.

Kamehameha was a wise and considerate man. He looked well to his own ways, and especially to the welfare of his kingdom. He was anxious to transmit his dominions in good condition to his sons when called himself to leave them. The following circumstances evince his thoughtfulness in this particular. When the men were collecting sandal wood, they cut the young sticks and brought them to the shore, which when Kamehameha perceived, he inquired, "Why do you bring the small wood hither?" They replied, "You are an old man and will soon die, and we know not whose will be the sandal wood hereafter." Kamehameha replied, "Is it indeed that you do not know my sons! To them the young sandal wood belongs."

He instructed his bird catchers as follows: "When you take a bird, do not strangle it, but having plucked the few feathers for which it is sought, set it free that others may grow in their place." They inquired, "Who will possess the bird set free? You are an old man." He added, "My sons will possess the bird hereafter."

Whilst, however, many traits in the character of Kamehameha are worthy of commendation, there is danger of our overestimating the improvement of his times.

I have seen a representation in terms much like the following: "He built forts and mounted guns upon them; he had soldiers armed with muskets and drilled after the fashion of Europe; he created a navy, numbering more than twenty vessels, some of which were copper-bottomed; he encouraged the mechanic arts and grew rich by commerce;

under his reign several of the chiefs grew intelligent, learned to converse intelligently in the English language, and assumed the dress and many of the habits of civilized life."

The simple and true statement of facts would be quite different. Some forts were indeed built during his reign, though they scarcely deserved the name, such as those already mentioned at Honolulu on Oahu, and at Waimea on Kauai. He possessed for a short time two foreign vessels called Keoua and Liholiho, both of which soon passed back into the hands of foreigners. The first was taken to Macao by Captain Davis and the other, together with the crew who came in her, was seized by a man of war from the coast. It is said that Kamehameha received compensation for neither. Some rude boats were indeed constructed at his order, but they were far from being worthy of the name of vessels. He disposed of considerable quantities of sandal wood to foreigners, and received in return the two vessels already named, and also various kinds of merchandise, particularly silks and other Chinese goods. During his reign a few of the chiefs and others learned to converse a little in broken English, so far as to be partially understood in common barter with traders, and assumed to some little extent the dress and habits of civilized life.

It has often been asserted that near the close of Kamehameha's reign the Russians made an attempt to get possession of the Island of Kauai and perhaps too of Oahu, and as reports to this effect have gained credit among many respectable visitors at the Sandwich Islands, it is proper that the facts relative to the subject, so far as they can be ascertained, should be clearly stated.

The Rev. Samuel Whitney landed on Kauai in 1820, when the facts were fresh in the minds of many, and has had good opportunity to collect information on the subject; and most of the following particulars are given on his authority.

During the last war between the United States and Great Britain, the ship *Attawelpa*, of Boston, was sold to the governor of the Russian colony at Sitka, on the north-west coast of America. Previous to the discharge of the American cap-

tain and crew the ship was sent by the governor on a voyage to the Sandwich Islands, where she arrived about the close of the war. Having nearly completed her business at the islands and being about to return, she was unfortunately wrecked at Waimea on Kauai. Most of the cargo and property on board were saved and committed to the care of Kaumualii, the chief of the island, with the request that he would take care of it for the Russians. In the year 1815 the governor of the Russian colony sent an agent to secure the property. The name of the agent was Schoof, a German physician, familiarly called at the islands the Russian Doctor. He came to the islands a passenger in the American ship *Isabella*, Captain Tyler. He had considerable property committed to his care, consisting principally of powder and clothing, and was accompanied by two servant boys. As the *Isabella* was not bound to Kauai, he landed at Kailua on Hawaii, where, after a residence of some weeks, he obtained a passage to Kauai in the ship *Millwood*, Captain Eddes. Kamehameha, the king, sent a messenger with Doctor Schoof with orders to Kaumualii to deliver up the Russian property then in his hands. After landing his merchandise and building a house at Waimea, he commenced trading. Kaumualii soon purchased all his powder, and some other property, for which he was to pay in sandal wood. Not long after the doctor had landed, a Russian ship, the *Discovery*, arrived with about thirty Kodiack Indians, a part of whom were females. These Indians had been sent on by the Governor at Sitka in pursuit of seals, of which he had heard there was an abundance on an island reported to have been discovered a little to the north-west of the Sandwich Islands. The captain of the ship had orders from the governor, in case the island could not be found, to leave the Kodiacks with his agent, Dr. Schoof, on Kauai, and proceed on his voyage; which he did, having failed in his search for the island.

A Russian brig, which was trading on the coast of Mexico, was under the necessity of running down to the islands to repair. The captain of the brig, an American, quarreling with the Doctor, was by him removed from command, but

still retained in the Company's service. This brig and a Russian ship, the *Myrtle*, Captain Young, which had been sent by the Governor to be placed under the Doctor's direction, were at the islands at the same time. The number of the Russians, it is said, was near eighty or ninety men. The *Myrtle* anchored in Honolulu harbor and the Russians built a block-house near the place of the present hotel, mounting a few guns and displaying a flag. The natives and some of the resident foreigners were suspicious of an attempt to take possession of the island and a messenger was despatched to give information to Kamehameha.

The king immediately sent Kalanimoku and other chiefs to Oahu with the following orders: "Go and observe the conduct of the Russians, but be slow to oppose them. If they commit outrage upon the people, exhort the people to bear it patiently. Receive ill treatment with great forbearance, but be ready notwithstanding in case of absolute necessity to make a firm resistance." These orders are a specimen of the policy of Kamehameha. He was sensible of the power of foreigners and sought to avoid collision by all possible means.

The night after Kalanimoku's arrival at Honolulu, the Russians sailed for Kauai. The ship *Myrtle* and the brig were both anchored for a season at Hanalei on the north side of Kauai, where, by the Doctor's order, a slight breastwork had been thrown up, and a few cannon mounted.

The Doctor now became anxious to return to Sitka, but either from the fact that he could not bring his business to a close, or from being flattered with the prospect of getting large possessions on Kauai, (Kaumualii having given him the valley of Hanalei and two or three other valuable pieces of land), he concluded to stop and superintend the building of a fort at Waimea; the chief being desirous to secure his skill as an engineer in erecting that work. While the fort was being built, the Doctor proposed to Kaumualii to take a lease of the whole island for a certain number of years. He purchased an American schooner, the *Lydia*, and presented it to the chief, together with considerable other property, and, as

some say, obtained his signature to the lease which he had drawn up. The fort was not completed under the Doctor's direction, but so far finished that a number of guns were mounted on one side, the magazine built and a flagstaff erected on which the Russian colors were seen flying on public occasions. It is proper here to mention a circumstance, which is believed by the natives generally, and by some foreigners, but altogether, as it seems, on too slight grounds.

On a certain occasion he had invited Kaumualii to a feast at his house, together with most of the influential men of the island. The man who had commanded the Russian brig, and who it was well known was anxious to get rid of the Doctor and the Russian service, went to Kaumualii and advised him not to go to the feast, affirming that the Doctor had told him it was his intention to cut him off while there and take possession of the island. Unawed, however, by this information, Kaumualii, well guarded, went to the feast, partook of the entertainment and returned quietly to his home. Probably this circumstance and the fact that the Russian flag was flying in the fort afforded all the evidence that goes to prove an attempt on the part of the Russians to take possession of the island by force. But that this individual, with thirty north-west Indians, a part of whom were women, aided perhaps by the crew of a small vessel, (only the brig being at Waimea at the time), should make an attempt to take the island is unworthy of credit. The story about cutting off the chief was doubtless a false report, got up for the sake of hastening the Doctor's departure.

The king, Kamehameha, and Kalanimoku, the chief of Oahu, having heard of the reports relative to the Doctor's proceedings on Kauai, took the alarm and sent a message to Kaumualii to drive off his visitor forthwith. Accordingly the Doctor was sent for immediately and told he must get into his boat and be off to the brig, then in the offing, to which he made no objection and took his leave. The next day he sent a boat for his private property and for such articles belonging to the Company as he chose, and departed

for Hanalei, whence, with the ship and brig, he took his departure from Kauai and came again to Honolulu.

During the absence of the ship *Myrtle* at Kauai the chiefs and people of Oahu through the advice and assistance of Mr. Young and other foreigners, took the precaution to erect a fort at Honolulu by which they might be able to command the harbor. On this second arrival of the Russians at Honolulu they were soon desired to depart, which they did without any resistance.

The *Myrtle* sailed, but being old and leaky, was obliged to re-enter the harbor and soon sunk. The Russians were kindly treated on shore till they had an opportunity to depart.

A short time after the Doctor had left, a Russian sloop of war, the *Diana*, arrived at Waimea. The captain made some inquiries respecting the Doctor, his plans, treatment, etc., purchased a few supplies and proceeded on his voyage.

From the above particulars there does not appear sufficient ground for asserting that the Russian government or even the colony at Sitka had any intention to take possession of the islands, though such suspicions at the time were strongly entertained.

When Kamehameha was dangerously sick and the priests were unable to cure him, they said, "Be of good courage, and build a house for the god, that thou mayest recover." The chiefs corroborated this advice of the priests and a place of worship was prepared for Kukailimoku and consecrated in the evening. They proposed also to the king, with a view to prolong his life, that human victims should be sacrificed to his deity; upon which the greater part of the people absconded through fear of death, concealed themselves in hiding places till the kapu, in which destruction impended, was past. It is doubtful whether Kamehameha approved of the plan of the chiefs and priests to sacrifice men, as he was known to say, "The men are sacred for the king," meaning that they were for the service of his son and successor, Liholiho.

After this his sickness increased to such a degree that he had not strength to turn himself in his bed. When another season consecrated for worship at the new temple (heiau), arrived, he said to his son Liholiho, "Go thou and make supplication to thy god; I am unable to go, and will offer my prayers at home." When his devotions to his feathered god, Kukailimoku, were concluded a certain religiously disposed individual, who had a bird god, suggested to the king that through its influence his sickness might be removed. The name of this god was Pua; its body was made of a bird, now eaten by the Hawaiians, and called in their language, alae. Kamehameha was willing that a trial should be made and two houses were constructed to facilitate the experiment, but while dwelling in them he became so very weak as not to receive food. After lying there three days, his wives, children and chiefs perceiving that he was very low, returned him to his own house. In the evening he was carried to the eating house, where he took a little food in his mouth, which he did not swallow—also a cup of water. The chiefs requested him to give them his counsel. But he made no reply, and was carried back to the dwelling house; but when near midnight, ten o'clock, perhaps, he was carried again to the place to eat, but as before he merely tasted of what was presented to him.

Then Kaikioewa, [the late governor of Kauai], addressed him thus: "Here we all are, your younger brethren, your son Liholiho and your foreigners; impart to us your dying charge, that Liholiho and Kaahumanu may hear." Then Kamehameha inquired, "What do you say?" Kaikioewa repeated, "Your counsels for us." He then said, "Move on in my good way, and——." He could proceed no further. The foreigner (probably Mr. Young), embraced and kissed him. Hoapili also embraced him, whispering something in his ear, after which he was taken back to the house. About twelve he was carried once more to the house for eating, into which his head entered, while his body was in the dwelling-house immediately adjoining. It should be remarked that this frequent carrying of a sick chief to and fro from

one house to another resulted from the tabu system then in force. There were at that time six houses connected with an establishment—one was for worship, one for the men to eat in, another for the women, a dormitory, a house in which to beat kapa, and one where at certain intervals the women might dwell in seclusion.

It is said that Kamehameha on his death bed asked an American trader to tell him about the American's God. The trader was silent. A native communicating the fact to a missionary in broken English, said: "He no tell him any thing."

The sick king was once more taken to his house, when he expired,—this was at two o'clock—a circumstance from which Leleiohoku derived his name. As he breathed his last, Kalanimoku came to the eating house to order those in it to go out. There were two aged persons thus directed to depart—one went, the other remained on account of love to the king, by whom he had formerly been kindly sustained. The children also were sent away. Then Kalanimoku came to the house, and the chiefs had a consultation. One of them spoke thus: "This is my thought, that we proceed at once to separate the flesh from the bones." Kaahumanu replied, "Perhaps his body is not at our disposal, that is more properly with his successor; our part in him—the breath—has departed; his remains will be disposed of by Liholiho."

After this conversation the body was taken into the consecrated house for the performance of the proper rites by the priest and the king. The name of this ceremony is uko;—and when the sacred hog was baked, the priest offered it to the dead body and it became a god, the king at the same time repeating the customary prayers.

Then the priest addressing himself to the king and chiefs said, "I will now make known to you the rules to be observed respecting persons to be sacrificed on the burial of this body. If you obtain one man before the corpse is removed, one will be sufficient; but after it leaves this house four will be required. If delayed until we carry the corpse to the grave, there must be ten; but after it is deposited in

the grave, there must be fifteen. To-morrow morning there will be a tabu, and if the sacrifice be delayed until that time, forty men must die."

Then the high priest Hewahewa, inquired of the chiefs: "Where shall be the residence of king Liholiho?" They replied, "Where indeed? you of all men ought to know." Then the priest observed, "There are two suitable places, one is Kau, the other Kohala." The chiefs preferred the latter as it was more thickly inhabited. The priest added, "These are proper places for the king's residence, but he must not remain in Kona, for it is polluted." This was agreed to. It was now break of day. As he was being carried to the place of burial, the people perceived that their king was dead, and they wailed. When the corpse was removed from the house to the tomb, a distance of one chain, the procession was met by a certain man who was ardently attached to the deceased. He leaped upon the chiefs who were carrying the king's body; he desired to die with him, on account of his love. The chiefs drove him away. He persisted in making numerous attempts, which were unavailing. His name was Keamahulihia. Kalanimoku also had it in his heart to die with him, but was prevented by Hookio.

The morning following Kamehameha's death, Liholiho and his train departed for Kohala according to the suggestions of the priest, to avoid the defilement occasioned by the dead. At this time, if a chief died the land was polluted, and the heirs sought a residence in another part of the country, until the corpse was dissected and the bones tied in a bundle, which being done the season of defilement terminated. If the deceased were not a chief, the house only was defiled, which became pure again on the burial of the body. Such were the laws on this subject.

On the morning in which Liholiho sailed in his canoe for Kohala, the chiefs and people mourned after their manner on occasion of a chief's death, conducting like mad men, and beasts. Their conduct was such as to forbid description. The priests, also, put into action the sorcery apparatus, that

the person who had prayed the king to death might die; for it was not believed that Kamehameha's departure was the effect either of sickness or old age. When the sorcerers set up by their fireplaces sticks with a strip of kapa flying at the top, the chief Keeaumoku, Kaahumanu's brother, came, in a state of intoxication, and broke the flagstaff of the sorcerers, from which it was inferred that Kaahumanu and her friends had been instrumental in the death of Kamehameha. On this account they were subjected to abuse. Those were dark days indeed, and called for commiseration, when even the death of rulers most venerated and beloved, instead of producing any salutary impression, was regarded as an urgent call to the indulgences of gross sensuality and debasement.

As was customary on the death of chiefs, there was an exhibition of hideous wailing, which was continued day after day, and night after night throughout the whole group of islands. This wailing, uttered as it is with deep and tremulous voice and proceeding from a thousand dwellings, at the dead of night, is mournful beyond description. As you stand and listen to it, it strikes the soul with deep dread, and peculiar horror. And the people not only wailed, but shaved their heads, burned their bodies with sharp pointed sticks and knocked out their front teeth. And this was not all.

According to custom, all law was suspended and all restraint taken away. On such an occasion it was made a virtue to commit crime. He who should produce the most confusion, distress and disorder, was considered as paying the greatest respect to his deceased king. Theft, rapine and murder were let loose to spread far and wide as much havoc as possible. The people, of all ages and both sexes, threw off all covering, and all restraint; and a combination of discord, wailing, self-torture, robbery, licentiousness and murder formed the full ingredients of a temporary hell.

This is the way in which the heathen mourn for the dead. And in view of it, when contrasted with Christian mourning,

O! what tongue can tell how much we are indebted to the religion of Jesus.

The bones of Kamehameha were kept for a while and then concealed. This was done as a token of respect. And it was a proverb with the people that the bones of a cruel king could not be concealed. They would make the bones of such a king into arrows and fish-hooks, and whilst using them, load them with curses.

At the expiration of about ten days' residence at Kohala, during which time the body of the late king had been dissected, Liholiho returned to Kailua. The second day after his arrival, the chief men of his father were assembled, armed with their guns. The inhabitants of Kona were also collected to witness the coronation of the new king and the transfer of the kingdom to him by Kaahumanu, with the reservation of Kamehameha, thus expressed: "If Liholiho conducts unworthily, the government will devolve on Kaahumanu."

The multitude being assembled, Liholiho came out of the temple arrayed in red clothing and a feather cloak, with the hat from Great Britain on his head, attended on either side by his chiefs, bearing kahilis and spittoons. Kaahumanu thus addressed him: "I make known to your Highness, Liholiho, the will of your father. Behold these chiefs, and the men of your father, and these your guns, and this your land;—but you and I, if such be your pleasure, will share the realm together." To this Liholiho assented and was constituted in due form the ruler of the kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF THE PEOPLE WHILE HEATHEN.

Political Condition—Feudal Character of Government—Oppressiveness of the System—Taxes—Labor—Irregular Impositions—Tabus—Church and State—Bondage of Heathen Rites—Mythology—Ideas of a Future State—Sorcery—Poisonous Idols—Destitution of the People—Means of Subsistence—Ignorance—Ideas of Astronomy—Computation of Time—Navigation—True Religion and Morality Unknown—Nature a Sealed Book—Insensible to Grandeur—Inactivity—Poverty—Amusements—Punishments—Executions—Modes of Burial—Intoxication and Crime—Neglect of the Sick—Cruelties—Heathen Degradation.

Having arrived, in the narration of events, near that period of time when Christianity was introduced at the Sandwich Islands, it may be well to pause a little and endeavor to form some distinct notion of the condition of the people whilst immersed in the darkness and degradation of heathenism.

And in the first place we are naturally led to consider their political condition. On this subject much or little may be said; and after every attempt at description, it is merely an inadequate notion that can be conveyed. The limits of this history will only admit of a few general representations.

From time immemorial there has existed at the Sandwich Islands a very wide distinction between that class of persons called chiefs and the common people. This distinction could not have been wider, if the chiefs had traced down their origin from a very dissimilar and separate race; and yet tradition acknowledges but one original stock. The blood of chiefs, wherever traced, was regarded with great deference, and where quite pure, was looked upon with deep veneration and superstitious awe. All the shrewd inventions and studied precautions ever employed in any nation by a jealous aristocracy never succeeded more effectually in

securing an august respect and an unquestioned submission.

Even the bodies of the chiefs, as a class, were much larger than those of the common people; some of them being really of enormous size. Perhaps also they were generally more intelligent; which would naturally be expected from their having more frequent occasion than the common people for the exercise of mind and of judgment.

As a general remark the chiefs were regarded as the only proprietors. They were admitted to own not only the soil but also the people who cultivated it; not only the fish of the sea but also the time, services, and implements of the fisherman. Everything that grew or had life on the land or in the sea; also things inanimate, and everything formed or acquired by the skill or industry of the people was admitted to be owned by the chiefs. In a word the chiefs were supposed to own everything, the common people to own nothing, but to exist in a state of entire dependence.

Neither were the people accustomed to think for themselves. The will of a high chief was to a great extent the rule of duty. It was with the chief to determine what was right and what was wrong, what was profitable and what was disadvantageous, when to engage in war and when to make peace. Against the proceedings of the high chiefs, it was a rare case indeed for any except appointed counselors to suggest the least difference of opinion, even though in matters of life and death. The chiefs were obeyed whilst living with something like adoration, and after death were deified.

It has been seen, that until the time of Kamehameha, there existed at the islands many independent kingdoms. The rulers of these several kingdoms, amidst all their frequent changes and revolutions, were uniformly chiefs by blood; and I cannot call to mind an instance of a mere common man who rose to influence and authority.

I have said that the soil was considered the exclusive property of the chiefs. In what way it became so is rather matter for theory and conjecture, than for history, there being no facts in the minds of the people to enable us to

form an opinion. There is the same latitude for theorizing as in regard to the ancient feudal system of northern Europe.

As far as there was any regular government, it was mainly of the feudal character, derived its strength from the tenure of the soil, and existed in the various ranks of landlords, from the king down to the lower chiefs. Each chief had his particular lands and tenants and agents, and exercised a power nearly supreme over his own vassals. An outline of the system may be represented somewhat as follows: An aspiring chieftain collects about him a number of followers, and goes forth to war and conquest. He then collects his victorious army and divides the territory. He himself, as king, takes his choice among the best of the lands, and places on these lands some of his particular servants, the original tenants usually remaining to cultivate the soil. The king or chieftain then divides the rest of the territory among the leaders of his army, giving the most valuable portions to the most distinguished persons. In doing this, the king finds full opportunity to show his skill and wisdom, and perhaps does not succeed in preventing difficulties, rebellion and war.

The lands being divided, those who hold them are considered as owing every duty and perfect obedience to the chieftain from whom they are received; and expect the least failure of service to be followed by dispossession. On these landlords the king relies to promote his plans, forward his interests, and to fight his battles. They, of course, have every inducement to support his authority, for both their power and property are by an indissoluble chain connected with his.

Each of these landlords divides out his particular land into smaller portions, the occupants of which owe the same service, duty and obedience to him as he acknowledges to his superior. In this way the conquered territory is divided and subdivided, down perhaps to the sixth or seventh degree.

This was the only system of government with which, anciently, the Hawaiians were acquainted. They had no

conception that authority and subordination could be maintained in any other way.

This system was exceedingly oppressive. The common laborers did not probably receive, on an average, more than one-third of the avails of their labors, while the different grades of chiefs received the remaining two-thirds. But what was worse, even this one-third they received was not safe, there being no distinct dividing line by which the tenant might know and hold anything as his own. If a man, by uncommon industry, brought his patch of ground to a higher state of cultivation than his neighbor, or if, by skill and invention, he acquired anything more than usually desirable, it was of no avail to him; his possessions serving merely, like Naboth's vineyard, to tempt the rapacity of his superior.

The system too was peculiarly oppressive on account of the sudden changes to which it was liable. On the accession of a new king every grade of landlords, and the mere tenants too, were liable to dispossession. So if a chief either of high or low rank deceased, then all the estates under his particular authority were liable to revolution and change. And even without the occurrence of death; favoritism, jealousy, natural fickleness of character and other like motives, led to frequent and distressing changes. On account of this, landlords ridiculed the idea of making extensive improvements; and tenants sought patches of ground under different chiefs, so that when dispossessed of one they might be saved from starvation by the produce of the other. There being no fixed law, no courts of justice, nor any place of appeal, the people were really tenants at will, each particular class to their direct landlords. Usually, too, when a man was dispossessed of his lands his personal property was also confiscated.

From these few general hints, it will be gathered at once, that taxations must have been very numerous and oppressive. There was first the royal tax, which extended, of course, over the whole realm, each class of inferiors paying to their particular superiors, and these again to theirs, till the taxes

were finally collected in one heap in presence of the king. Besides this regular tax there were some customs which made it necessary to make presents to the king, especially when he was traveling. He and all his company, which was said in the time of Kamehameha to have amounted usually to a thousand men, were entirely supported in their travels by the people. If a sufficient amount of presents was not brought, plunder and rapine was the consequence.

Besides these direct drafts on the property of the people, the king was accustomed to call out all classes of the community to perform every kind of labor which he desired. There were no established rules by which labor was assessed, nor was there any limit to the amount. The order for work was given by the king, through various grades of chiefs, down to the lowest tenants.

After the visits of foreigners to the islands, some new forms of taxation were devised, particularly the requirement to cut sandal wood. The amount of sandal wood collected during some twenty or thirty years must have been immense. The chiefs are able, even now, actually to account for more than one hundred thousand piculs, amounting in value to one million dollars. The collecting of sandal wood, particularly during the latter period of the business, was immensely laborious, and the tax was probably one of the heaviest ever imposed upon the people. Another form of taxation was by means of duties on the various productions sold to foreign ships. At some places one-half the value of everything sold was claimed by government. Again, as gold and silver became introduced into the islands, taxes were imposed in money.

All the above taxes were for the king. In the same manner each particular chief taxed his own vassals, and usually with even more extortion and disregard to mercy. The oppressiveness of the system consisted very much in the great number of landlords of various grades over the same vassals, some one of whom may be presumed to have disregarded all rule and justice, subjecting the mere tenants, of course, to the severest rigors of unrestrained tyranny.

No valuable article was considered safe in the hands of the lower classes, for if not directly plundered, some form of taxation would be devised or some mode of suffering invented till it was obtained. Hence none of the lower orders dared to live in a large house, cook a large hog, fish with a large net, or appear abroad well-dressed.

Besides regular taxations there were many oppressive impositions. A report circulates that the king is about to visit a certain place. The landlord gives orders at once to have large houses built, and to have hogs and other valuable articles in readiness. The king, of course, does not arrive, the report being a mere fabrication of the landlord to answer his purpose, who is not slow to turn all the preparations made to his own advantages.

Again, a chief has a patch of food going to decay. He gives it out to his men, compels them to eat it, and to pay in return ten times the value in mats or native cloth.

The government of the ancient chiefs, however, though in a great measure arbitrary, was not perfectly so. There were some customs which it was dangerous even for the king himself to violate. A chief who should violate these customs usually became unpopular and rendered himself liable to be supplanted by some other aspirant. Instances of this kind are now in memory. There were restraints, also, on the will of the king, not only by customs and the fear of other chiefs, but also by the counsels of a certain class of men whose appointed business it was to rehearse proverbs and other instructions as handed down by their ancestors. They often prophesied also of judgments in case of disobedience to their instructions. But notwithstanding these restraints, the sovereign, if an ill-disposed man, found means very frequently to break over them, and to oppress his subjects without mercy.

Another very oppressive feature of the ancient system consisted in the many tabus, restrictions or prohibitions by which the high chiefs contrived to throw about their persons a kind of sacredness, and to instil into the minds of the people a superstitious awe and peculiar dread. If the

shadow of a common man fell on a chief, it was death; if he put on a kapa or a malo of a chief, it was death; if he went into the chief's enclosure, it was death; if he wore the chief's consecrated mat, it was death; if he went upon the house of a chief, it was death; if he stood on those occasions when he should prostrate himself, as for instance when the king's bathing water, or his kapa, or his malo was carried along, it was death; if he stood at the mention of the king's name in song, it was death; if he walked in the shade of a house of a chief, with paint on his head, or with a wreath around it, or merely wet with water, or wearing a mantle, it was death. These are but a few of the many offenses of the people which were made capital by the chiefs. In truth, men's heads lay at the feet of kings and chiefs, and whatever they ordained, whether good or evil, that was the destiny of their subjects.

Another important feature in their ancient system which contributed still farther to oppress the people, was the entire connection between the government and their idolatrous institutions. Their heathen worship was the perfect handmaid of oppression. The chiefs made constant use of the priests and their rites to awe and terrify the people. In truth, idol-worship, with all its terrors, cruelties and restrictions, was made an inseparate and integral part of the political government. The king was the head of their superstitions, as well as of the state; the temples were his temples, the idols were his idols, the priests were his priests, the prophets were his prophets, and he used the whole machinery to further his designs. If human victims were needed for the altars the king's enemies were the persons to be sacrificed, the objects of his jealousy, if there were such, or those who had been guilty of any disrespect, real or imaginary, to his high character, or had trespassed upon any of the numerous tabus named above, which were invented to render his person sacred and inviolate. It will be seen, therefore, that the idolatrous system threw immense power into the hands of the chiefs, and contributed more than anything

else to give to the civil arm the power of oppression and tyranny.

This connection or alliance of which we now speak was more intimate, if possible, than even the union of church and state during the meridian period of Roman hierarchy, and a distinct notion of it would serve very much to explain some more recent and very important events in the history of the islands. It was owing, no doubt, to this peculiar and intimate connection, that on the abolition of idolatry there naturally arose a war between the adherents of the ancient worship and those who conspired to abolish it. The history of the event shows, as will hereafter be seen, that the abolition of idolatry was considered by Kekuaokalani, the opposing chief, not only as a religious measure, but also as a very important political innovation.

Owing also to this feature of alliance between the civil power and heathen worship, it became a natural result on the introduction of Christianity—a result in perfect accordance with their notions, and altogether unavoidable—that a state of things should spring up, resembling somewhat, what is usually termed a union between church and state. Such a union did exist to a very considerable extent, notwithstanding the constant endeavors of missionaries to prevent it, during the reign of Kaahumanu, and has not entirely ceased at the present day. When, therefore, the first effort was made to introduce Romanism into the islands, it was natural for the chiefs and people to regard the measure in a political character, and to regard converts to that faith—especially when they found them disobedient, arrogant, and refractory—in the light of rebels. And so far as persecutions did exist, it was more on the ground of political rebellion than of religious belief. The fact, indeed, that persecutions, to some small extent, did exist, is matter of deepest regret to every Christian and enlightened mind, but doubtless is made much more of by readers at a distance than by those who can in some measure appreciate the circumstances, and give to the deplored persecutions their proper and just interpretation. But we shall naturally be

led to say more on this subject on a future page, and it is time to return from this partial digression.

From the general remarks we have made on the political condition of the people, this much at least will be fully understood, that the islanders were exceedingly oppressed,—that they were borne down with burdens and ground into the earth by an iron-hearted despotism,—that in this instance, at least, a state of heathenism was a state of bondage not only moral and mental, but that also which toucheth the skin and bones of men, which wears out their sinews, and cuts short their lives,—a state of deep degradation and ruin from which, even to the present day, they are but slowly recovering.

Besides this political yoke they were subject also to a severe bondage from the rites and services of their heathen worship. When a temple was to be built, the people bore the heavy stones upon their shoulders and laid up the walls, they brought heavy timber from the mountains and set up the posts, then they had the burden of thatching and of providing hogs, cocoanuts, bananas, and a variety of other offerings for the service. After the completion of all this toil, what was the reward? It was no other than this: the lives of some of their number must be taken, and their bodies offered in sacrifice upon the altars, to complete the consecration of the temple, and to impart power, or deity as they termed it, to the newly carved idols.

In recent days the chiefs, in their addresses to the people, make allusion to this requirement of their ancient worship. Nahienaena, the sister of the present king, when called to address a concourse of people, on a tour around this island, made use of something like the following language: “I call upon you to take notice of the great difference between the mild spirit of the Christian religion and the cruel requisitions of our ancient system. Anciently, if I had made you a visit, I should have commanded you to bring heavy stones and build a temple, to go to the mountains for timber, to thatch the building with care, to bring in offerings of every kind; and after all this toil, then what should I have re-

quired? that some of your number should be slain, and your immolated bodies placed upon the altars. Now I simply exhort you to seek your own present and eternal salvation."

There was great promptitude on the part of the chiefs in executing the orders of the priests. If the priest said, let there be a hog for the god, fish for the god, food for the god, a house for the god, land for the god, human sacrifices for the god, everything was yielded at once and without a murmur. The king and the priest were very much alike, and they two united, were the nation's main burden.

Besides, there were various prohibitions of the priests which were very oppressive. It was death to be found in a canoe on a tabu day; if anyone made a noise while prayers were saying, he died; if in any way he was irreligious in the opinion of the priests, he died; if he was found enjoying the company of his family on a tabu day, he died; if a woman ate pork, cocoanuts, bananas, and certain kinds of fish, it was death.

Another grievance was this tabu which existed on account of the idols. If one made his idol of the native apple tree, the apple tree was afterwards tabu to him. So of all the trees of which idols were made. So, too, of articles of food. If one employed kalo as an object of his idolatry, to him the kalo became sacred, and might not be eaten by him. Birds and fowls were objects of worship. If a hen, then a hen was to him sacred. So of all birds which were deified. Beasts were also objects of worship. If a hog, the hog was sacred to him who chose it for his god. Stones were objects of worship, and became tabu, so that one might not sit on them. Fish were also idolized, and became tabu in like manner. So of all things in heaven and on earth, even to the bones of men which were transformed into objects of worship. Hence the vexation and difficulties and the burden of tabus too numerous to be mentioned.

Among the tabus, that which regulated their eating was peculiarly burdensome both to the men and women. When two persons entered the marriage state, the man must build an eating house for himself, another for his wife to eat in,

another for his god, another for a dormitory and another in which to beat kapa. In addition to this burden of building many houses, there was an additional one in providing food. He first heated the oven and baked for his wife, then he heated the oven and baked for himself, then he opened the oven containing his wife's kalo, and pounded it, then he performed the same operation upon his own. The husband ate in his house and the wife ate in hers. They did not eat together lest they should be slain for violating the tabu.

We have, thus far, been naturally led to speak merely of the oppressiveness of their heathen worship, and it may be in place here to add a few words respecting what may be more properly called their mythology, or their fabulous opinions and doctrines. The mythology of the Sandwich Islands is quite confused, but I shall endeavor to give at least its principal outlines.

The Hawaiians had six deities to whom they gave names, but oftener addressed only four—Ku, Lono, Kane, and Kanaloa. After naming these four, and sometimes six, they then added the expression, the forty thousand, and the four hundred thousand gods, meaning an indefinite number. These deities they regarded as spirits who had their residence above or in the clouds. They attributed to them all the proud, fierce, cruel and impure passions of men and supposed them, of course, to delight in the sufferings, and in the immolation even of human victims.

The people worshipped these deities usually by means of idols, supposing that after the performance of certain ceremonies on the images, they became repositories or at least suitable remembrancers of the spirits above. The people deny that they actually worshipped the wood and the stone, and to explain to us their use of images, they refer at once to the practice of the Romanists in regard to pictures and symbols. They can discern but little difference between their ancient worship and the rites and ceremonies of the Romanists, and the fact is so clear and forcible to their minds, that they very often refer to it, placing the wisdom or the folly

of that form of worship entirely on the same ground with their own ancient practices. Throughout the islands this is the most powerful of all the popular arguments against the religion of Rome.

In regard to the soul, they had very inadequate and confused notions. They supposed that after death the soul, or rather the ghost lingered for some time about the deceased body, haunted in dark places, and made attempts occasionally in the night to strangle its enemies. If anyone was afflicted in the night with the incubus, or night-mare, he regarded it as an attack of some ghost upon his throat. These notions, to a great extent, still cling to the people, and it is not uncommon to notice exhibitions of this superstition. The following may serve as an instance: On the evening of a dark night I heard a horrid shriek in the street; it was that of a strong, athletic man running with all speed, with both hands at his throat, endeavoring to tear something away. He soon reached the door of a house, burst his way in and fell on the floor, terrified even to faintness and insensibility. He imagined that the ghost of a chief who had deceased the day before had a firm gripe upon his throat and was about to strangle him.

They had some very indistinct notion of a future state of happiness and of misery. They said that after death the ghost went first to the region of Wakea, the name of their first reputed progenitor, and if it had observed the religious rites and ceremonies, was entertained and allowed to remain there. That was a place of houses, comforts and pleasures. If the soul had failed to be religious, it found no one there to entertain it, and was forced to take a desperate leap into a place of misery below, called Milu.

There were several precipices from the verge of which the unhappy ghosts were supposed to take the leap into the region of woe; three in particular, one at the northern extremity of Hawaii, one at the western termination of Maui, and the third at the northern point of Oahu. This notion, however, of a future retribution was extremely indistinct, and was entertained by only a few; the thoughts of the

great mass of the people did not extend so far, but were confined to the mere prosperity or adverse circumstances of this life.

The people were in the habit of praying every morning to the gods, clapping their hands as they muttered a set form of words, in a sing-song tone. This practice, however, was not universal. It was observed by all the priests and many of the people, but in some houses there was no prayer at all. There were special prayers and special ceremonies, on particular occasions, as at the revolution of the year, or the consecration of a new temple, or the sickness or death of a chief, on the eve or at the close of battle, on undertaking a long voyage, or any special enterprise. The detail of all their various rites and ceremonies would scarcely repay the toil of collecting and the tediousness of perusal.

The aha was the ceremony and prayer on the part of a chief, near the eve of war. During its performance, if a man stirred or made the least noise, it was death; if the least noise was made by a dog, a hog, a hen or a mouse or any other animal, it was death. If the performance was consummated with no interruption, the priest prophesied victory, and the chief and his soldiers went forth to war with resolution and courage. On the event of victory, it was regarded as due to the gods to lay the bleeding corpses of the slain, and of captives too, upon the altar, as a recompense for the success afforded.

The priesthood was hereditary, existing, however, in two distinct houses or lines of descent, each house tracing back its genealogy many generations and terminating in a prominent ancestor. The rites and ceremonies of these two houses of priests were not materially different.

Besides these regular orders, there was a more irregular class of persons, who may perhaps be more properly denominated sorcerers. It was their business to procure the death of persons obnoxious to themselves, or to the chiefs, by means of prayer and religious rites. They sought the spittle or something else belonging to the person whom they wished to destroy, and by means of certain rites of conjuration and

prayer to the gods, so wrought upon the imagination and superstitious fear of the individual as almost invariably to procure his death. These sorcerers were both feared and hated by the people and were never known to live long lives. It was not uncommon for the people to conspire against a dreaded sorcerer and to procure his assassination. They were usually the very scum of the people and regarded more as evil spirits than as a part of the human race.

It is not many years since, so late indeed as to be matter of distinct tradition, that a very important acquisition was made to the work of sorcery. At that date a new class of idols took its origin, the power or virtue of which was devoted to the horrid purpose of destroying life. The manner in which this species of idols was introduced, is related indeed with some mixture of fable; the fabulous additions, however, may be easily distinguished from the main facts. The story is somewhat as follows: A man on Molokai by the name of Kaneakama had a peculiar dream. He dreamed that a tree of the mountain, entirely new in its appearance, came to meet him. The tree admonished him to bring offerings and sacrifices, and to worship it as a god; then to cut it down and to make of it an idol; and that the idol should have the power of procuring the death of whomsoever he chose.

We will not dwell, however, upon the various incidents of the dream. The facts seem to be, that the man discovered a peculiar tree on one of the mountains of Molokai. He cut it down, took a piece of it and made an idol. He found, from experiment, that by scraping off a small portion of it, and concealing the dust in the food of an enemy, he could at once cause his death. The idol immediately became celebrated on account of its power; and chiefs and people came from the most distant lands to obtain a piece of the tree, until the whole of it, even to its twigs and roots, was carried away. It would seem that this was the only tree of the kind known upon the islands, for it had no name in their language, and took its name from the manner in which it was cut down by Kaneakama, it was called *kalaipahoa*. Besides, if

any other tree of its kind had existed, why should people have come from Hawaii and Kauai, the most remote islands, to obtain a twig, or dig up a root of this one tree, on Molokai?

It is most probable that the tree was a virulent poison, and as active poisons, at least, in small doses, were unknown on the islands, the power of causing death so readily was regarded a great acquisition. It must have been a poison, if indeed it were a fact, which seems to be fully admitted, that it caused death when administered secretly, where there was no room to act upon the imagination, and the superstitious fears of the victims.

This tree, as has been said, to the very twigs and roots, was converted into idols, and scattered throughout the whole group of islands. Those who possessed portions of it found it a more convenient means than any former instrument by which to destroy their adversaries. They always accompanied the act of poisoning, however, with religious rites and the mysterious tricks of sorcery. The chiefs used the poison to effect the purposes of government, in removing at will all persons that were obnoxious, both high and low. On the abolition of idolatry, these idols were carefully collected at Kailua by Kaahumanu and burnt to ashes. No particle of the wood now remains by which to ascertain whether it was actually a poison, or whether the numerous deaths procured by it were effected through the influence of superstitious fear.

For many years this life destroying idol excited the fears and compelled the worship of the trembling and agitated people. The reign of this class of idols was pre-eminently a reign of horror, cruelty, and death. How blind and perverse are the hearts of men, to substitute a poisonous idol as an object of worship instead of that Being whose very name and essential character is LOVE!

The destitution of the people next claims our attention. In ancient times, the people subsisted principally as they do, indeed, at present, by the cultivation of the soil and by fishing. They were not a hunting and a roving people like the

North American Indians; there being no game of any consequence upon the islands. Their agriculture consisted chiefly in the cultivation of the sweet potato and of a species of the arum, called kalo. The banana was also cultivated; and some little bread fruit, a few cocoanuts, and a species of native apple grew spontaneously. The kalo and the potato were however their main dependence. Their animal food consisted of the flesh of swine and of dogs, the only two animals, indeed, of any size formerly known on the islands. Swine flesh was prohibited to the women, and they of course had no other animal food but that of the dog. It is no wonder, therefore, that aged women, having been brought up upon dog's flesh as their only animal food, should still regard it with great relish. Some wild ducks were obtained occasionally and a wild species of hen, but not in sufficient quantities to be of any account. Fish was a main article with the people and they showed great skill in taking them both with the hook and with the net and exhibited unexampled boldness and dexterity in their fishing excursions. The shores of the islands however do not abound with fish, and most that are taken are of an inferior quality. Fish were also cultivated in ponds, particularly by the chiefs. Besides these means of subsistence that have been named, there were also various kinds of roots growing in the mountains, which were resorted to in time of famine. Arrow-root grew upon the islands, but the people were ignorant of its manufacture. The period at which sugar cane was first found on the islands is out of the memory of the people but it was not much cultivated, the manufacture of it into sugar and molasses being entirely unknown. Some roots were cultivated for the purpose of making intoxicating drink, particularly a narcotic root called awa. The subsistence of the people was usually very poor and scanty.

The fact that the Sandwich Islanders are an agricultural people, and of course to a great extent fixed in their places of residence, affords great facility towards their civilization and moral improvement. This fact also must effectually take away from foreign intrusion the argument which has

been speciously urged in regard to Indian lands; for in this case there is actual and complete occupation, and not the mere claim of the roving hunter. If, therefore, the Sandwich Islanders should ever be dispossessed of their territory by a foreign power it will be an act that will not be supported by the usual pretext, but a case of the most decided and open injustice. But I must check this train of remark, lest it lead us too far from the narrative before us.

In the arts which contribute to neatness, comfort and civilization, the Islanders exhibited the utmost destitution. Having no iron, and of course no instruments to work with but those of stone, bone and wood, much advance could not have been expected. They simply knew how to construct a canoe, make fish-hooks and fish nets, to put up a building of poles and thatch, to make a kind of frail cloth of the bark of trees, to braid mats of rushes or leaves, to make rude instruments of warfare, such as wooden spears, daggers, bows and arrows; to evaporate salt, and to do some few other things of a like kind.

With the facts now stated, the reader may portray to himself a picture of their destitution and rude manner of life. A native goes to the forest and with the aid of fire and a stone axe succeeds in procuring some poles. He brings them home on his shoulder, erects them in the earth, and covers them with leaves or grass. He leaves an opening for a door, and another for a window, and strews the interior with grass and a rude mat, which serves every purpose, for floor, table, bed and chairs. The inmates of the little hut, (for in their chaotic state they could not be called a family) —the transient and changing inmates, perhaps five or six in number, of all ages and both sexes, with a mere apology for clothing, crowd around one calabash, eat poi from it with their fingers, and then with or without a kapa for a covering, and a smooth stone of the beach or a block of wood for a pillow, lounge and sleep on the same mat.

Look at another herd, (for I cannot call them a family). Their dwelling is a cave, the damp earth their floor, and the naked rock their covering. A small excavation in the center

is their fire-place and their oven, and their food the roots of the forest. I never saw a poor man till I visited the Sandwich Islands; and, as much improved as the inhabitants now are, there remain too many exhibitions of the destitution and loathsomeness of their former condition.

The amount of their knowledge also on every subject was still more deplorable than their destitution of the arts and means of civilized life. They had no knowledge of writing, or of the use of arbitrary signs to express thought. They had even no hieroglyphics that were worthy of the name. All that I have ever seen were very rude indeed, such for instance as a circle marked upon a smooth stone to designate a return from a tour around the island. They had not the least conception of any mode of expressing thought except by the voice and gestures of the living person. The manner in which the chiefs communicated their orders at a distance was by means of a class of men called runners, who went with great rapidity to carry their messages to different parts of the islands. The chiefs also had a select class of men to row canoes on expresses. They frequently gave to the runner or messenger some sign by which the people might know him to be actually sent by a chief. The article generally chosen as a sign was some ornament which the people had seen worn by the king or chief. The article chosen by Kamehameha during the latter part of his reign was a silver coin, or rather a kind of medal, about three inches in diameter. A man who carried this medal secured the full confidence of all that he was a true messenger of the king. Among the common people there was very little communication at a distance. They sent simple messages to each other as they had opportunity, but rarely trusted important business to be transacted by others. Having no hieroglyphics or symbols, by which they could communicate their ideas through the sight, they were greatly astonished, as will hereafter be seen, when they found that foreigners had a method of conversing with persons at a distance.

The Hawaiians having no written language, had of course no numerical signs, and knew nothing of the science of arith-

metic. They were simply able to count and their method of computation was merely sufficient to answer the purposes of a rude and unlettered people. Their method of counting from one to forty agrees with the usage of most other nations. They counted from one to ten, and then repeated, joining ten to one, two, etc. When they arrived at twenty, they gave a new name and repeated again in the same manner, and so on to thirty and forty. When they had arrived at forty, they returned to one and counted to forty again, and so on until they had counted ten forties, to which they gave a new name. Four is assumed as the lowest class or collection of numbers, and the classes proceed in a regular scale upwards, from four to four hundred thousand, increasing by ten; as four, forty, four hundred, four thousand, forty thousand, four hundred thousand. Their computations were all performed in the mind, and in the analytic method, making use of the fingers of one or both hands to assist in making their calculations.

Of geography they knew nothing beyond the limits of their own islands. Some names of foreign islands were indeed used in their songs and in their numerous legends, but no distinct knowledge of them existed among the people, at least as late as the days of Kamehameha.

Of astronomy they knew somewhat more, as I think is true of savage nations generally. They knew nothing of course of the system by which the heavenly bodies are regulated, but with a few of the most noticeable facts in relation to the planets they were acquainted. There was a class of persons whose profession it was to watch the motions of the stars. These astrologers, among whom Hoapili, the late Governor of Maui, was particularly skilled, had names for many of the largest stars and principal clusters. They were acquainted with five planets which they called traveling stars. Hoapili was so much in the habit of observing these, that he could at any moment tell the position of each. Their names for these five planets were as follows: Kawela—Mercury, Naholoholo—Venus, Hoomanalonalo—Jupiter, Holoholopinau—Mars, Makulu—Saturn. Hoapili said that he had

heard from others that there was one more traveling star, but he had never recognized it and was acquainted with only these five. The more distinguished fixed stars and clusters had their distinct names, and the people were in the habit of observing them so much that they judged of the hour of the night about as accurately as of the hour of the day; this was especially true of fishermen and those persons whose employment called them to be out considerably in the night.

It was by the particular position of the planets, in relation to certain fixed stars and clusters of stars, that the prophets grounded their predictions in relation to the fate of battles, the success of new enterprises, etc. The contiguity of these planets to certain fixed stars was considered to be a sure indication of the speedy death of some high chief. The goddess of the volcano was also supposed to hold intercourse with these traveling stars and from their movements therefore the people often predicted volcanic eruptions.

The motions of the stars in the vicinity of the north pole attracted their attention considerably and were often the subject of dispute. These they said were traveling stars, but did not wander here and there like the others, but traveled regularly.

Those who took the most care in measuring time, measured it by means both of the moon and fixed stars. They divided the year into twelve months, and each month into thirty days. They had a distinct name for each of the days of the month, as has been shown on a former page, and commenced their numbering on the first day that the new moon appeared in the west. This course made it necessary to drop a day about once in two months, and thus reduce their year into twelve lunations instead of three hundred and sixty days. This being about eleven days less than the sidereal year, they discovered the discrepancy and corrected their reckoning by the stars. In practice, therefore, the year varied, being sometimes twelve, sometimes thirteen lunar months. So also they sometimes numbered twenty-nine and sometimes thirty days in a month.

Though their system was thus broken and imperfect,

yet, as they could tell the name of the day and the name of the month when any great event occurred, their time can be reduced to ours by a reference to the phase of the moon at the time. But when the change of the moon takes place about the middle of our calendar month, then we are liable to a mistake of a whole month. We are liable to another mistake of a day, from the uncertainty of the day that the moon was discovered in the west. Having nothing to rely upon except merely their memories, they were also liable to numerous mistakes from that source.

Eclipses were uniformly considered to be an attack of the gods on the sun and moon, and always presaged war, the death of some high chief or some other great disaster.

The ability of foreigners to predict eclipses and other astronomical phenomena, created at first the greatest astonishment. The Almanac published by the Mission, predicting the phases of the moon, eclipses, tides, &c, was received by them with much interest, and tended somewhat to confirm their belief in our testimony on every subject. It is worthy of remark, however, that they themselves were in the habit of referring the tides to the action of the moon and when they could see the moon were able to tell the state of the tides.

Though they thought that much of their success depended on their acting in unison with the heavenly bodies, yet as they were unable to calculate even the most simple of all the movements of the planets for any length of time beforehand, they were unable to plan their battles and their enterprises with reference to any particular position of these planets; and therefore when the time arrived and they saw that position to be what they supposed unfavorable, they were often at once discouraged and gave up their enterprise, or fled from their enemies, even though not pursued. Could one of their ancient warriors have known enough of astronomy to have calculated even a few of the most simple celestial phenomena it would have given him a vast advantage, for he might then have planned his attacks and his enterprises in conjunction with the heavenly bodies, and

his followers, seeing their position favorable, would have been inspired with undaunted courage, while their enemies would have fled in dismay, thinking that they were contending, not only with human armies, but also with the stars in their courses.

The first little book which was published in their language, containing some of the true principles of astronomy, awakened their surprise, and they at once brought against it the common vulgar objections. Hoapili, the astrologer before mentioned, when others were disputing about the figure of the earth, said: "Stop; do not be so quick with your objections to the foreign theory. Let us look at it. This is what I have always seen. When I have been far out at sea on fishing excursions, I first lost sight of the beach, then of the houses and trees, then of the hills, and last of the high mountains. So when I returned, the first objects which I saw were the high mountains, then the hills, then the trees and houses, and last of all the beach. I think therefore that these foreigners are right, and that the earth is round."

Of navigation they could hardly be said to have any knowledge. They were in the habit, however, of sailing frequently from one island to another in the group, and were frequently out of sight of land both on these voyages and on their fishing excursions. In some instances they sailed intentionally out of sight of land, from one extreme point of the group to the other. There are numerous traditions also, of voyages performed even to and from foreign islands. When out of sight of land, they sailed by the sun and stars, which in this climate are rarely obscured. The direction of the wind was also another guide, the weather undergoing an entire change on an interruption of the trade winds. Their skill in the management of canoes was perhaps unexampled, especially in the surf. Excepting, however, this practical and common sense sailing they had no knowledge whatever of navigation.

The ignorance of the islanders, however, on the subjects already named, was comparatively of little account. A deeper, more horrid and fatal ignorance brooded over the

people,—an entire extinction of light on all points affecting their eternal interests—a moral night of the soul, cheered not by the least glimmering or the faintest ray of that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation. The long and dark ages of heathenism had swept away both the idea and the name of a Supreme Being, had effectually annihilated from their minds all His attributes, leaving no just notion of either holiness, justice, love or mercy; and had buried in oblivion every term expressive of even the simple sentiments of honesty and morality. Their highest notions of deity did not arise above the departed ghosts of sensual and blood-stained chiefs. Their language exhibited a perfect barrenness, in terms expressive of true religion and pure morality. So far from affording words to denote the virtues, which we attribute to the Supreme Being, it was even deficient, in proper epithets, to describe a man of common faithfulness and honesty, and was incapable of expressing, without much ambiguity and confusion, the common notions of right and wrong. It is utterly impossible to portray the depth of their ignorance or to exhibit the horrid darkness of that rayless night which so completely enveloped them. In matters pertaining to this life they had, as we have seen, some little knowledge, but in matters pertaining to God and the soul, they were not only destitute of all correct notions, but deeply involved in the most horrid, degrading and repulsive errors. A fact this which shows the revolting depravity of the human heart—a willingness to retain that knowledge which pertains to the affairs of this life, but an utter aversion to the least particle of that divine light which must once have shone upon them—an aversion which led them eventually to shut out the very last ray, and to plunge into the depths of darkness, delusion, and error. We shall have occasion, however, to speak more particularly of this moral darkness, ruin and death, when we come to state on a future page the difficulties which attended the first communication to their minds of the pure and holy truths of the Christian religion.

Notice also another fact. To the heathen the book of

nature is a sealed book. Where the word of God is not, the works of God fail either to excite admiration or to impart instruction. The Sandwich Islands present some of the sublimest scenery on earth, but to an ignorant native—to the great mass of the people in entire heathenism—it has no meaning. As one crested billow after another of the heaving ocean rolls in and dashes upon the unyielding rock of an iron-bound coast, which seems to say, “Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther,” the low-minded heathen is merely thinking of the shell fish on the shore. As he looks up to the everlasting mountains, girt with clouds and capped with snow, he betrays no emotion. As he climbs a towering cliff, looks down a yawning precipice, or abroad upon a forest of deep ravines, immense rocks and spiral mountains thrown together in the utmost wildness and confusion by the might of God’s volcanoes, he is only thinking of some roots in the wilderness that may be good for food.

I remember standing in a deep-shaded ravine, and gazing with intense rapture at a beautiful waterfall. The stream, as it came over the precipice, seemed to be of considerable size, but the height of the fall was so great that none of it reached the bottom. As it rushes over it is a stream—in the fall it becomes foam, then mist, and soon becomes so light as to ascend again to the side of the mountain, adorned and enriched by the colors of the rainbow. But my attendants would have enjoyed far more a calabash of poi or a raw fish. Instead of reaping delight from the beauties and sublimities of nature, the heathen choose low, wild, and groveling sports—too low and vile to be mentioned; or place the perfection of happiness in gluttony and lounging.

Neither is it to the beauties and sublimities of nature alone that the entirely uneducated heathen show an unmeaning gaze and cold insensibility. Scenes of majestic awe and terror make but little impression upon their minds. I remember a scene of terrific grandeur,—it is as fresh and distinct as though it occurred but yesterday. I was then at Hilo, the nearest station to the volcano of Kilauea. In the after-part of the day we experienced several earthquakes, and

about six o'clock we felt a shock so severe as induced us to leave our house for the night. The trembling, heaving, rocking, and undulating movements of the convulsed earth produced sensations that are altogether indescribable. The foundations underneath us seemed to be uncertain and treacherous. But, to add immeasurably to the awe and grandeur, the whole heavens, in the direction of the volcano, were intensely lighted. It seemed like billow upon billow of flaming fire rolling through the whole arch of heaven. Though at the distance of 40 miles, the light was sufficient to convert night into day. The heavens on fire above us, and the earth treacherous beneath our feet, was a scene too awful and majestic to be enjoyed. The eruption continued during the night and the following day. The third day, when all seemed to be quiet and still, we resolved to visit the volcano and see the effects of such immense and terrific action. In company with my associate and our families I set out on the excursion. When we arrived within several miles of the volcano we found the earth broken in deep chasms; and when we came within half a mile, perhaps, of the crater, we found that the earth for that distance around had sunk about 18 inches, and from there on to the crater's edge the ground was so rent into chasms as to be almost impassable. As we came upon the immediate edge of the crater, which is nearly seven miles in circumference, and looked down the giddy depth of 800 or 1000 feet, we judged that this tremendous depth and immense arena had been filled with boiling lava; that in the rollings and tossings of the mighty convulsion, the lava had been thrown out in huge waves on every side, until, by some shock, a chasm was rent in one side of the crater, through which it appeared the immense mass had disgorged itself into the ocean. The almost fathomless abyss was now empty, presenting only a raging lake of fire at the very bottom. We erected a little hut, or rather a screen from the wind on the edge of the crater, and spent most of the night gazing at its majestic and impressive scene. If the writers of the New Testament had stood where we stood when describing the prison of Hell, and taken their representation

from what we actually saw, they would not have materially altered a single feature of their description. There was an abyss almost fathomless, enclosed in dark, ragged, and everlasting rock—a lake of fire below, rolling and tossing, and dashing against its black and gloomy ledges, and the suffocating smoke of fire and brimstone ascending unceasingly in immense volumes. No pious visitor has gazed at the scene without recognizing fully the Bible picture of the pit of Hell. My eyes were fixed upon the exhibition before me, and I stood mute and trembling under a sense never before so fully realized of the power, the majesty, and terror of Almighty God—the resources of His wrath, and the untold horrors of the finally impenitent.

But how, think you, were our native attendants affected by such a scene? Utterly regardless and unimpressed, they were only careful about their supper, chatted about their fish, and stretched themselves upon their mats to sleep for the night. I repeat the remark: The book of nature to the heathen is a sealed book. They are equally insensible to the beauties, the sublimities, and awful terror of God's works. During a certain eruption, as stated by Mr. Ellis, one of the rents of the chasm made by it emitting sulphurous smoke and flame, ran directly through the floorless and thatched hut of a native living at Kaimu. All the notice he took of it was merely to remove his sleeping mat a little distance from the chasm, and composed himself again to his slumbers. A stupid insensibility to every elevated idea and every elevated emotion is a trait of heathenism. If you wish to awaken their attention, present a calabash of poi, a raw fish—or call them to some low, groveling, and sensual sport. To them the perfection of enjoyment is fullness of bread and abundance of idleness—sleep by night, lounging by day, filthy songs and sensual sports. O, how lost were they to all that elevates the immortal soul! In vain did God lavish upon the Sandwich Islands every beauty, every sublime prospect, and every exhibition of awful grandeur; in vain—utterly in vain, till the book of revelation was brought in as a key to the book of nature.

Notice also another fact to which we have alluded. With a mild and salubrious climate—with a soil adapted to all the tropical productions—with good harbors and abundance of water power—with almost every natural resource, and no winter to provide for; still the people were in the very lowest depth of poverty—compared with whom our poor men are rich. Utterly destitute were they of knowledge and skill to apply to advantage their muscular force, and bring into use the rich resources of their favored islands.

“In vain with lavish kindness,
The gifts of God were strown.”

They were at the farthest remove possible from intelligence, industry, skill, and enterprise; for these characteristics, however much it may be denied, flourish only under the genial and energetic influence of the religion of Jesus. Look over the world and consider facts. They are stubborn, and there is no evading the inference.

The heathen, too, were reckless of life. Where there are but faint ideas of a future state, the loss of life is lowly estimated. It is so with barbarians the world over. It was so also with the infidels of France. And it is so in our own country, just in proportion as infidelity and barbarism prevail.

But we have by no means finished the picture of heathenism. The most revolting portion still remains, for we have remarked only upon their oppression, destitution, and ignorance; and have merely hinted at their degrading practices, their social condition and their catalogue of crimes.

There are several very important aspects both of the character and condition of any people, that can best be judged of from their sports and amusements. It would, however, be unnecessary and tedious to describe minutely all the various amusements of the ancient Hawaiians. And many of their sports were so much of the character of vicious indulgences as entirely to forbid any description. There were games of strength, games of skill, games of chance, and not

the least frequent, least attended or least relished, games of the most vile and lewd associations.

One kind of sport was the boxing match to which they were very much addicted. A very great concourse usually attended, of men, chiefs, women and children. They were of the same nature, and attended with the same acts of barbarity and reckless cruelty as those so well described by Virgil in his story of Aeneas. A leveling blow was followed by unbounded applause from the surrounding multitude, exhibited by shouts and yells, the tossing of arms into the air, jumping, dancing and clapping of hands, and other like exhibitions of savage delight. The elated victor paced the circle with an air of defiance, challenging others to the contest, until prostrated himself by some combatant of greater skill or muscular power. The excitement at such scenes was often so great as to lead to the most disastrous consequences. It was not uncommon for many to be killed on the spot, and sometimes, it is said, no less than forty men were left dead on the arena of contest.

They engaged also in mock fights, with wooden spears, stones and other missiles. And it was not uncommon for these mock fights, through great excitement or some misunderstanding, to terminate in serious contest, and great disaster. Wrestling, also, was a common practice, also various modes of trying the strength of the fingers and arms, too numerous to be severally mentioned.

A favorite amusement consisted in bowling a circular, flat and highly polished stone, two or three inches in diameter and an inch thick, swelling with a slight convexity from the edges to the centre. The art consisted in sending or rolling this stone upon an even track prepared for the purpose so as to pass between two short sticks driven in the ground near to each, at the greatest distance; or in one party's driving another by bowling the stone farthest. By frequent exercise in this amusement their arms were trained to very great strength, so that on ground where the descent was scarcely perceptible, it was not uncommon to roll the stone upward of a hundred rods.

Another favorite amusement, both of the chiefs and of the people, was that of sliding down hill on a long, narrow sled, much like the winter sport of boys in cold countries. The smooth sward of a suitable declivity was made to answer, in some degree, the advantages of ice and snow for this purpose. The individual laid himself down at length upon the sled, with his head foremost, having the sled balanced on the very summit of the steep declivity. He then started the sled with the foot and precipitated himself down the hill with immense velocity, often to the distance, it is said, of more than half a mile. Thus they went from the top of Diamond hill far out upon the plain, and at other places to a much greater distance. In this amusement there was very great hazard of life.

Throwing the spear, and various other exercises with it, was also a common sport, as well as a practice preparatory to war, and they gained great expertness and skill in the use of that weapon.

Playing on the surf board was another kind of amusement in which both chiefs and people exhibited very great skill and dexterity. For this amusement a plank of light wood was used, eight or ten feet long with its edges suitably rounded and polished. The more high and terrific the surf, the more delightful the pastime to those who were skilled in it. The art consisted in so balancing themselves with the use of the board on the crest of a towering billow as to ride in upon it from quite a distance out at sea, even to the beach. The individual adjusted himself on his board with his head foremost, took the summit of a towering wave as it reached him, and so balanced himself as to have his head project a little before the combing of the breaker and so also as to be carried on by the impetus of the billow. In this manner, with their heads only in sight amidst the foaming and dashing of the waves, the surf-players rode in with great velocity as near to the beach as might be judged safe, and then returned out again to sea for a second effort. In this manner they exercised themselves for hours in succession.

Another kind of sport was that of running and leaping

from a high precipice into the deep water below. Precipices are shown, where this sport was practiced, of perhaps fifty, sixty or even seventy feet in height.

There were also various amusements that were more strictly games of chance. Both the chiefs and the people were exceedingly addicted to gambling of all sorts, and were not slow in inventing a great variety of modes of carrying on the practice. It is unnecessary to give the names of their various games, much less to enter upon a minute description. They seldom or never played games of chance without a wager, and seldom, indeed, at any game of skill. The wager was an accompaniment, and constituted a principal charm, in their down-hill slides, their plays in the surf, their mock fights, their boxing matches, their rolling the stone, and their sports of every kind. They gambled away their property to the very last article—their clothes, their food, the crops upon their lands, their lands themselves, their wives, their husbands, their daughters and even the very bones of their arms and legs, to be made use of after their death for arrows and fish-hooks. After the arrival of foreigners at the islands, cards were introduced as a means of licentiousness and gambling. The Sandwich Islanders were furnished with cards for nearly forty years before they were presented with any portion of God's word. And it would probably be found, on inquiry in regard to most heathen nations, that cards and rum are disseminated, long in advance of the scriptures of eternal truth.

Another class of amusements, and those practiced perhaps to a greater extent than those already named, were those sports that took their zest and charm from lewd and vile associations. Of these the most prominent perhaps was the dance. There were a great variety of dances. Some of them consisted merely in the recital of songs, accompanied with as much action as was calculated to give them force. Others consisted mainly in action. Sometimes a single girl was the actress, again a large number united. Their motions were anything but graceful, and often were very revolting. These motions were regulated by music, which consisted of a kind

of drumming on various hollow vessels, such as the calabash, and a kind of drum made by drawing a piece of shark's skin over a piece of hollow log. Every variety of song was rehearsed and acted, even the most vile and lascivious, and the action always corresponded with the sense. Sometimes a single voice rehearsed the song, sometimes a number chanted in unison. This sport was practiced both night and day, but the night was the usual time for the amusement and the time most desired, and for some time after the arrival of missionaries at the islands, scarcely a night passed in which the noise of these assemblies was not heard. The wild notes of their songs, in the loud choruses and responses of the various parties, accompanied with the dull and monotonous sounds of the native drum and calabash, and pulsations on the ground with the feet, was the sad music which the first missionaries were obliged to hear for many long and weary months. With the gathering darkness of evening, thousands of the natives assembled at some frequented spot, and continued the dance, with shouts of revelry and licentiousness, even till the break of day—shouts heard only in a heathen land, and of which those who live in Christendom can have no conception. And there were not only yells and shouts, but such exhibitions of licentiousness and abomination as must forever remain untold. There were other sports held also in the night of a kindred character with the dance, the chief charm of which consisted also in lewd associations and in the opportunities they afforded for the commission of vice, but it would be quite unprofitable if not improper, to dwell any longer on a subject so painful and disgusting.

The evils resulting from all these sports and amusements have in part been named. Some lost their lives thereby, some were severely wounded, maimed and crippled; some were reduced to poverty, both by losses in gambling and by neglecting to cultivate the land; and the instances were not few in which they were reduced to utter starvation. But the greatest evil of all resulted from the constant intermingling, without any restraint, of persons of both sexes and of all ages, at all times of the day and at all hours of the

night, and under the excitement of such songs and dances as we have already described. Indeed both the chiefs and the people became lean, dirty, and diseased, and were sunk in a dead lake of pollution—were even below the beasts of the field, in utter shamelessness, and in the undisguised practice of every degrading vice.

Their ornaments, also, exhibited the taste of the people. Some of the ornaments of the chiefs, made of bird feathers, though rude were not inelegant; but with this exception the ornaments both of the chiefs and people were very repulsive. It was an ornament to have the front teeth knocked out; to have the hair sheared in various fanciful and terrific shapes, and to have the body deeply and indelibly tattooed, not excepting even the face, with uncouth figures or with representations of unseemly objects. They wore also strings of dog's and hog's teeth about their ankles and wrists and stained or rather daubed their foreheads, cheeks and hair with various kinds of paint. Human bones and hair of murdered victims were used also in their barbarous ornaments.

It may be well, perhaps, to notice here some other habits and practices of the people, for these no less than sports and amusements exhibit both their character and condition. We notice then first the manner of inflicting punishments, particularly those that were capital. Capital punishments were usually inflicted in the night. The kings and some of the chiefs had a particular class of servants whom we may denominate executioners, for to them the business of punishing capitally was usually intrusted. This class of men was much feared by the people, for there were no public trials, nor public sentence pronounced, and therefore, whenever the executioner was seen abroad, there was general consternation, especially among those who were conscious of having committed any offense, or of having incurred the displeasure of the king. They usually went in the night and attacked their victim with clubs or stones, without giving him any warning. If the executioner was discovered by the friends of the criminal, they neither dared to apprise him of his danger nor to

resist the executioner, lest they themselves should be the next victims.

Some of the criminals, more especially those whose crime was some violation of their religious tabus or prohibitions, were seized either secretly or openly by the officers of the priests and dragged to the temples, where they were either stoned, or strangled, or beaten to death with clubs, and then laid on the sacrificial altar; their carcasses were left to putrefy and their bones to bleach. The majority of all executions was probably for some violation of the religious tabus; others were for incurring the displeasure of chiefs, and not a few in conformity with their usages of private revenge.

After the introduction of edged tools, and especially axes, into the islands, beheading secretly in the night became another form of execution. The last instance of this kind took place during the reign of Liholiho, and some time after the residence of missionaries on the islands. The king was jealous of a certain person of distinction that he had improper intercourse with one of his wives. Without any trial, or any public sentence, the king sent an executioner in the night, who found the criminal asleep, his wife lying by his side. The executioner gently removed the woman's head to one side and then with a broad axe severed the head of her husband from his body. Executions were always anciently in this form, that is, of assassination, and performed in the most barbarous and rude manner.

There were also lesser punishments, which equally indicated the cruelty and barbarism of the people, such as digging out the eyes, taking off the arm at the elbow joint, or the leg at the knee, and other inflictions of a similar character.

Their modes of burial, both of chiefs and common people, exhibited also the revolting state of their low, groveling and superstitious character. After the death of a chief or the king, the corpse was permitted to lie one day, during which time the royal sorcerer was engaged in incantation to procure the death of some person as a sacrifice or peace-offering to the gods for the prosperous reign of the new king.

The corpse was then carried to the temple where certain ceremonies were performed. It was then neatly enclosed in leaves of the native ti plant, in the same manner as they wrap together the body of a hog or dog for cooking. The body was then placed in the ground and covered to the depth of about eight inches. A slight fire was then kindled over it so as to keep it about the temperature of the living body. This was done for the purpose of hastening the process of putrefaction. As soon as the flesh could be easily slipped from the bones of the arms, the six long bones of the arms and the six long bones of the legs were taken out, and being cleansed in some perfumed water, were then fastened together, the bones of the arms standing on the bones of the legs. The head was then taken, and having been cleansed in the same manner, was placed on the top; and the whole wound up in native bark cloth and deified. But if they were merely the bones of a high chief they were simply preserved in some depository. In times of public commotion the bones of the kings, though thus deified, were immediately concealed by their friends lest they should be obtained by the enemy and treated with disrespect. Some kings gave charge during their lifetime to have their bones concealed at once. This we have seen was the charge of Kamehameha.

The common people were usually buried or deposited secretly in caves during the night. There was a great fear among the people lest their bones should be made use of after death for arrows or for fish-hooks. This was probably the principal reason for burying secretly.

Their times of eating and sleeping were very irregular. Those who had a supply of vegetable food and fish often ate six or eight times in the twenty-four hours. It was a very frequent practice to rise in the night to eat. This was especially true of those who had fish brought in at evening or in the night. At times when they had less to tempt the appetite they ate perhaps only once a day; and not unfrequently went without eating scarcely anything for two or three days, and then on the succeeding days ate proportionately

more. There was indeed no regularity either among the chiefs or people.

They were also as irregular in their hours of sleep as in their meals. The day and the night were much alike in this respect. They seemed scarcely to have a choice. And they were not only irregular as to time but also as to the amount of sleep. These irregularities both in food and sleep continue in a great measure even to the present time. An entire lack of system, or at least great irregularity, in the common and every day habits of life is characteristic of the savage state.

But not to be farther tedious, it is time perhaps to glance briefly at those practices of the people that are more usually termed vicious and criminal.

We mention then, first, that as far as they could find the means they were much addicted to intoxication. They used for this purpose a narcotic root called *awa*, and also various fermentations, such as those made of the sweet potato, sugar-cane, banana, and the root of the *ti* plant. In later years, or soon after the discovery of the islands, they learned a simple process of distilling the root last named, and of producing thereby ardent spirits. It is said that the process was first taught to them by some runaway convicts, who found their way from Botany Bay to the Sandwich Islands. Soon, also, large quantities of ardent spirits were imported by ships visiting the islands.

As these means of intoxication became abundant, the vice became a usual accompaniment of their boxing matches, mock fights, midnight dances, and other like sports and amusements and added very much to the disgust and beastly character of those scenes of licentiousness and revelry. The vice of intemperance, like that of card-playing already alluded to, showed itself at once to be peculiarly congenial with the prevailing tastes and habits of heathenism. Both chiefs and people were ready to welcome the vice and wallow in its odiousness and filth without restraint, except perhaps that the chiefs sometimes prohibited ardent spirits to the people for fear of not having a full supply themselves. For some

years after the arrival of missionaries at the islands it was not uncommon in going to the enclosure of the king, or some other place of resort, to find after a previous night's revelry, exhausted cases of ardent spirits standing exposed and the emptied bottles strewn about in confusion amidst the disgusting bodies of men, women and children lying promiscuously in the deep sleep of drunkenness. The nation was indeed fast becoming, and we regret to say under the means afforded and the example set by a certain class of vicious foreigners, a nation of confirmed drunkards. This was one of the fruits of mere commercial intercourse without the influence of the gospel.

Theft, also, was a very common vice, and could not have been otherwise than common, for many of the kings and chiefs kept servants for the especial purpose of stealing. Being trained to the vice as to a distinct business, they learned to steal with great expertness and secrecy. This vice was exceedingly annoying to foreigners who visited the islands in early years and continued to be so till some time after the introduction of Christianity. Articles of clothing and iron were particularly sought after, and presented to the thievish disposition of the people very great temptation. Not only things out of the house, but things within, even around the bedside, were not safe. The people would lurk about the door during the day, apparently in great simplicity and innocence, but really spying out the situation of articles that at night by a pole introduced in the window or a hole in the thatch they might contrive to hook them out.

Robbery also was very common, and murder, for the purpose of robbery. Some persons were very expert in seizing, murdering and robbing the wayfaring man. They sometimes used a rope which they threw with much dexterity, something after the Spanish manner of taking wild cattle with lassos from some lurking place by the wayside—entangled the unhappy victim and then leaped upon him, and by a certain tact succeeded in breaking his bones. The art of throwing the rope so as at once to entangle the victim and the tact of pouncing upon him so as to crush him and break his bones,

required much practice, and there were actually something like schools for the purpose of teaching the art and of acquiring the requisite skill.

Licentiousness also, as has already been remarked, was very prevalent. Society was indeed such a sea of pollution as cannot well be described. Marriage was unknown, and all the sacred feelings which are suggested to our minds on mention of the various social relations such as husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, were to them indeed as though they had no existence. There was indeed in this respect a dreary blank—a dark chasm from which the soul instinctively recoils. There were perhaps some customs which imposed some little restraint upon the intercourse of the sexes, but those customs were easily dispensed with and had nothing of the force of established rules. It was common for a husband to have many wives, and for a wife also to have many husbands. The nearest ties of consanguinity were but little regarded, and among the chiefs especially the connection of brother with sister and parent with child was very common. For husbands to interchange wives, and for wives to interchange husbands was a common act of friendship, and persons who would not do this were not considered on good terms of sociability. For a man or woman to refuse a solicitation for illicit intercourse was considered an act of meanness. And so thoroughly was this sentiment wrought into their minds that even to the present day they seem not to rid themselves of the feeling of meanness in making a refusal. When a solicitation is made they seem to imagine or at least to feel, notwithstanding their better knowledge, that to comply is generous, liberal and social, and that to refuse is reproachful and niggardly;—the very reverse—the perfect opposite of all those notions and feelings on such subjects which prevail in Christian lands. From this confused state of things, this perfect overthrow and entire eradication of the family constitution, it will be understood at once that there could have been little or no attachment in the various domestic relations;—none indeed except what could arise from feelings of sensuality and selfish gratification.

It was common, therefore, for parents to give away their children to others as soon as they were born. Very few parents indeed took care of their own children. As a general thing parents had no desire for children and took means to render themselves childless, and if a child was born to them they were ready to give it away to almost any one who would take the trouble of it, and if no one could be found who was willing to take it, a very common practice was to strangle it or to bury it alive. It is estimated by those foreigners who came first among the people and had the best opportunity of judging, that at least two-thirds of the infants born perished by the hands of their own parents.

There were various causes which led to infanticide, such as the jealousy arising from having many wives and many husbands, also sickness, deformity or distress of the child; for it was found easier to stifle their continual moans or cries by strangling or suffocation than by attention and care. Many times, doubtless, the mere trouble or care of the child was too burdensome to its mother, or its helplessness interfered for a period with her freedom and pleasure.

Imagine for a moment that you behold one of these heathen mothers destroying her own offspring. As you are passing the outskirts of some city or village you behold the wretched woman carrying something to a secluded spot. You observe her as she stops, lays down her burden, and digs a pit in the earth. Ah! what is it that she is about to bury? Her own smiling infant. The child perhaps is sick and troubles her with its moans and cries and instead of searching into the causes of its sorrow or attempting to alleviate its pains she stifles its cries for a moment with her hand, thrusts it into the grave prepared, covers it with a little earth, and tramples it down while struggling yet in the agonies of death. But wait and look around a little and you will find that this is not the first grave she has dug. Perhaps this may be the fifth or the seventh child that she has disposed of in the same way, and many of them perhaps from no better motives than to rid herself of trouble or to leave herself more free for sensual pleasure and vicious indulgence. How true it is that

heathen lands are full of the habitations of cruelty, and how little aware are the inhabitants of Christian countries to what extent they are under obligation to the gospel for those domestic and social blessings they prize most dearly.

The vice of licentiousness was not diminished but rather, if possible, increased by the intercourse of early visitors from foreign lands. Many ships, indeed, that visited the islands were no better than floating exhibitions of Sodom and Gomorrah; and the crime in their case being attended with that awful curse which God annexes to it in civilized lands, made tremendous havoc among the unwary people. In such a state of society the desolating curse knew no barrier, but like a raging fire, driven by a strong wind through a dry forest, spread at once to the very extreme parts of the islands, and there is much to fear that its ravages can not be entirely arrested before it shall even exterminate the race.

Another crime that may be mentioned is cruelty. The Hawaiians, like other heathen, were strangers to the feelings of sympathy, tenderness and pity. The distressed, unfortunate, deformed and afflicted, instead of being objects of compassion, were objects of reproach, ridicule and abuse. If a person had lost an eye, an arm, or was otherwise maimed or crippled, or was bereft of reason, he became an object of sport for others, especially to the children, who were not slow to make his misfortune the subject of boisterous laughter and noisy mirth. The spirit of the phrase "Go up, thou bald head" was known to perfection by Hawaiian children and youth. If a man was dispossessed of his land and property by his chief it was a fit opportunity for others to increase the affliction by seizing whatever little articles might remain. If his house was consumed by fire his neighbors were ready to improve the occasion in carrying off any property that might be rescued from the flames. If a father or a mother became aged or infirm it was not uncommon for the children in order to rid themselves of the burden, to cast them down a precipice or to bury them alive.

Imagine for a moment such a scene. You behold two strong young men bearing a sickly aged person upon a rude

litter. He is their father, and they are pretending perhaps to remove him to a place of more comfort. In a moment unexpected to the father, they come upon a grave, which they had previously dug; cast him into it, and, notwithstanding his imploring eyes, his strong entreaties and agony of grief, proceed to bury him alive. Look in another direction, and you may perhaps behold the sisters of these young men in the act of casting their mother from some high precipice that she may be dashed in pieces at the bottom.

As you return from this scene, stop at a hut by the wayside, and you may find there a sick, emaciated object entirely deserted by relatives and friends who prefer some scene of revelry to the care of the sick. There is no one near to smooth his mat, prepare him a morsel of food or wet his lips with a drop of water. You turn away from this sight and feel perhaps that it would be an enviable lot to be thrown from a precipice or buried alive.

These are not pictures of the imagination, but according to the testimony of early missionaries, were the painful realities, which they were often compelled to witness. It is the uniform testimony that the helpless and dependent, whether from age and sickness, were often cast from the habitations of their relatives or friends to languish and to die unattended and unpitied. An instance is related by one of the early missionaries from which we may judge of others. It came to the knowledge of the mission family that a poor wretch had recently perished within sight of their dwelling after having lain uncovered for days and nights in the open air, most of the time pleading in vain with his family, still within the reach of his voice, for a drink of water. And when he was dead, his body, instead of being buried, was merely drawn so far into the bushes as to prevent the offense that would have arisen from the corpse and left a prey to the dogs that prowl about in the night.

The miseries of the sick were also enhanced not only by the desertion of friends and the want of every comfort, but also by the cruel, absurd and superstitious treatment they received from a class of men that we may call pretended

physicians or officious quacks. It seems from tradition that this class of persons were rather of recent origin, or were little known previous to the great epidemic in the days of Kamehameha. Their practice was always mingled more or less with superstitious incantations and was often of the most absurd and pernicious character. They not only administered very noxious medicines, but also practised steaming or rather smoking and roasting over a slow fire and very often doubtless occasioned the death of the sufferer instead of doing him any good. They would often, indeed, persuade the well that they were sick and before they had ended their officious treatment actually cause their death.

Instead of looking with pity upon maniacs, it was a common practice to put them to death by stoning. As you pass along the beach the noise of savage mirth meets your ear. You pause and look, and behold a gang of boys and many adults, too, are hunting down and stoning a poor, miserable object, and for no other crime than that God has taken away his reason.

There were also other crimes and cruelties attending upon the practice of war that have not been mentioned. It was not only a common practice to put to death the vanquished or those taken prisoners, but to do it in the most barbarous manner. It was common in the first place to take up the little children and deliberately dash out their brains before their parents. It was then common to load the prisoners with cruel mocking and abuse, and afflict them with torture, and eventually to hold their heads down upon a rock and pound them to pieces.

On occasion of small quarrels also, as those between husband and wife, acts of cruelty were not uncommon. A father for instance seizes the favorite child of its mother, breaks its back across his knee and throws it down in her sight while writhing in the agonies of death, and she perhaps in return seizes some child dear to its father and dashes out its brains. Public authorities seldom interfered in such cases.

Even their religious worship, as before hinted, was stained with cruelty and blood. Look at that immense crowd of

naked, sun-burnt, degraded beings who fill the area of a large and gloomy heiau, or stone enclosure. In the midst of them stands a huge and frightful image whose horrid grin bespeaks at once the savage attributes ascribed to it. Before it are spread out offerings and sacrifices of various kinds, and in full view a number of immolated human victims streaming with blood. The crowd offer a senseless and frantic homage and go away to dive deeper into every scene of vileness and crime. Look at them as they are assembled to engage in their horrid rites. There is need of a human sacrifice, and a priest, standing on an eminence, points out some individual of the crowd. The unhappy individual is instantly knocked down with a club and his mangled body, gory with blood, is dragged to the altar, cut in pieces while yet warm and twinging with life, and presented before the horrid image.

From these brief sketches of their character, though imperfectly drawn, it will be seen that the graphic description of heathenism long since given by the Apostle Paul was applicable in all its force to the ancient Hawaiians—that they were indeed guilty of all that long and black catalogue of crimes, which he enumerates in the first chapter of his letter to the Romans. They were even, as has been seen, without natural affection; murderers of parents, and murderers of children. Oh how emphatically true is it that heathen lands are habitations of cruelty! But I fear that through the frequent repetitions of such descriptions our minds have become in a measure callous to their enormity. It is an alarming tendency of our nature to become shockingly familiar with such descriptions, but let us remember that the scenes themselves are no less disgusting, awful and horrid, and that they continue to be acted at this very moment on many portions of our globe.

There is yet another crime which must be added to the list already given. Until quite recently I had hoped that it did not exist among this people, but some facts have come to light that compel us to admit that even among the Sandwich Islanders, to a greater or less extent, there were those

who were guilty of the tremendous crime of cannibalism. The practice was not common, and it is due to the Hawaiians to say that those few instances that did exist were looked upon by most of the people with horror and detestation.

It seems that there lived in the interior of the Island of Oahu, some hundred or hundred and fifty years since, a disgusting clan of cannibals. The facts carefully collected by the missionary residing near the spot I will here insert.

“Halemanu, eight or ten miles east of Waialua, is the place where Kalo Aikanaka, a cannibal chief, once lived. This little spot nearly resembles an ox-bow in shape, and lies between two deep ravines; the only access to it from the sea being through a narrow isthmus of only a few yards in width. On this little ox-bow of one or two hundred acres is the site of a heathen temple of oblong shape, about two hundred feet by sixty, sufficiently large to seat 3,500 people in the native way and leave a small space unoccupied.

“Near this is the site of a house said to have been occupied by the chief,—dimensions sixty feet by forty. Between the house and the temple, a little to the west, is a large excavation in the earth, sufficient to admit an ox to be roasted whole; this is pointed out as the oven in which men were formerly roasted for the feasts of the chief. Still further to the west and distant from the temple about twelve or fifteen rods is a large flat stone, with a smooth surface, nearly an octagonal shape, six feet perhaps in diameter and of one or two tons weight. On this stone it is said the roasted victims of this cannibal chief were dissected and eaten. The stone goes by the name of Kalo’s ipukai, or meat platter. Natives say that pieces of this stone broken off and exposed to the action of fire have frequently developed an oily substance which they suppose arises from its having been saturated with the fat of victims. The experiment, however, which we made did not satisfy us that such would be likely to take place at this late period.

“Kalo is reported as having been a chief over about three thousand people, all of whom lived within a few miles of the heiau, or temple,—where he was accustomed occasionally to

feast on the dead body of some enemy, intruder, or stranger who might be despatched for the occasion.

“Kaanokeewe, his servant or under chief, lived at a place called Kanewai, where there is a very narrow pass between two ravines, and very abrupt on both sides. On this neck of land Kaanokeewe built his house, reaching from bank to bank, so that all who might go to the mountains for timber in that direction must go through his house; travelers also from the north side of the island frequently passed that way.

“All of these he was in the habit of questioning as to the object of their several journeys, and if by any artifice he could implicate them in deception, real or fancied, he regarded them as lawful prey, took their lives, and carried them with haste to Kalo to be devoured.

“Kaanokeewe is reported as having been very athletic, ready to give battle to any man, and sure to conquer in single combat. So that the victims procured by him for his master were numerous. Natives say many forties in number. Kaanokeewe destroyed all his own brethren and those of his wife, except one, who escaped from him and went to Kauai. On Kauai he learned the art of managing a contest in single combat and with his newly acquired skill returned to Oahu. No sooner had he arrived than he heard that his sister, Kaholekua, wife of Kaanokeewe, had been killed by her husband. On this intelligence he made haste to the spot, found his sister not dead but severely injured. He then attacked Kaanokeewe with all his skill, and in the encounter both of them went off the precipice together, and in that fall Kaanokeewe's head was caught between two trees, and, grappled as he was with his antagonist, his neck was broken short off. With the death of this procurer of victims the cannibalism of the chief Kalo ended, as he had no one to procure him victims. From that time this horrid custom ceased.”

Previous to the time of Kalo, it is said that a company of cannibals reached Oahu by the way of Kauai who were strangers and had arrived at Kauai from some foreign land. The name of one was Kahanu-nui-a-lewa-lani; his younger brother was named Kaweloaikanaka; they were children of

Neva. They were all cannibals and did much mischief for a time among the people. Perhaps other clans of cannibals did exist at the islands, but this is the only instance that has come to my knowledge.

Let us look now for a moment at the imperfect picture thus far drawn. We find that the Hawaiians were sorely oppressed, wretchedly destitute, and exceedingly ignorant; stupid also to all that is lovely, grand, and awful in the works of God; low, naked, filthy, vile and sensual; covered with every abomination, stained with blood and black with crime. Idolatry also reigned with all its obscenity, frantic rage and horrid exhibitions of bleeding human sacrifices. Then super-add the deadly evils introduced from Christian lands during an intercourse of forty years, and you will place them in the state in which they were found by the first missionaries who arrived among them.

The degradation, physical, mental and moral, is so deep that it takes time—it takes years in any good measure to explore it. I had some sense of the degradation of the heathen the first year of my residence among them, but the whole period of my residence hitherto has not served to reach, in conception, the immense—the fathomless depth. The longer one lives among the heathen, the more fully does he realize the ignorance, the vileness, and the abominations of the horrible pit in which they are sunk.

How immense the distance up from heathenism to Christianity! Who can conceive of it? Look down, if your sight can bear the giddy depth, low down into the deep pit of mire and heathen pollution, and then up to the eminence of a true child of God, and measure, if you can, the distance. Do this, and then you will have some due conception of the divine power of the Gospel of Jesus; for it alone can reach this depth of ruin. It reaches down, takes the feet of the beastly heathen out of the miry clay, raises him up to the dignity of angels, and places him safe, glorious, pure and happy on the firm and golden pavement of heaven.

There is something noble in the thought of being instrumental in elevating those who are sunk so low! Oh, how

the Angel Gabriel would delight in such a work. I mistake his character if he would not glory in it as a work the most noble and most truly sublime. If the word of reconciliation were committed to angels, where, think you, would Gabriel wing his way? to London or to Greenland? to New York or to New Holland? Which would be the sublimest trophy of the grace of God, and the brightest gem in the diadem of Jesus, a soul saved from the midst of intelligence and refinement, or a soul rescued from the depths of heathenism—dug up, as it were, from mire and filth—purified, elevated, refined, and made holy, and reflecting the more glory the more in contrast with perfect ruin? If Gabriel then should strive to place the brightest jewel in the crown of Jesus, would he not dive at once down to the depths of heathen degradation and bring it up from thence? May God give us this spirit, that the lower men are sunk, the more readily we shall toil and labor to be the instruments of their salvation.

CHAPTER IV.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Way Prepared—Opukahaia—Tabu System Overthrown—Influences against Tabu—Liholiho and Others Violation thereof—Opposition—Kekuaokalani—Battle of Kuamoo—Downfall of Idolatry and Burning of Idols—Arrival and Landing of Missionaries—First Stations—Pioneers and Reinforcements—Statistics of Location—Welcome Reception.

The picture thus far has been dark. Let us now turn our eyes to the cheerful dawn of heavenly light. And as we trace the introduction and progress of Christianity in the islands, we shall be forced to exclaim in the language of strong emotion, What hath God wrought?

This exclamation was scarcely more appropriate to the nation of Israel than to the people of the Sandwich Islands. The work at the Sandwich Islands has been emphatically the work of God—marked by His timely and special providences. God prepared the way for the heralds of salvation before their arrival.

The first step of preparation was to unite the group of islands under one government. In doing this he made use, as we have seen, of the ambition and enterprise of the chief Kamehameha. This chief was rarely endowed with physical strength, mental energy, and a mild disposition. He seemed raised up by divine providence to accomplish this very important purpose—to prepare the way, in part, for the introduction of Christianity. Under him the several petty kingdoms, which presented before an uninterrupted scene of jealousy, discord, and war, were united into one people; and through his sagacity, energy, and unbounded authority, were kept in subjection and at peace during the whole period of his reign.

If the several independent and petty kingdoms had continued, a very formidable embarrassment to the introduction

of the gospel would have existed in their constant jealousies and frequent wars. On the other hand, nothing could have been more favorable to the reception and propagation of the gospel throughout the whole group of islands than their union under one government and the subjection and peace which prevailed. The hand of God was in this event. No one can doubt it.

At the same time, too, Providence directed to the United States some Hawaiian youth, Opukahaia, (Obookiah), and others; and awakened in Christians the thought of sending to these islands the gospel of Jesus. Look at Opukahaia, sitting down and weeping on the threshold of the college buildings at New Haven till taken under the care of a Dwight and a Samuel J. Mills. Follow him through his interesting but short history and observe the feelings awakened by him in behalf of his countrymen. Call to mind, also, the events at the same time transpiring at the islands, and you cannot fail to be convinced of the direct movements of an unseen hand.

In regard to Opukahaia and other Hawaiian youth educated at Cornwall, it is perhaps due here to state that very incorrect notions were entertained respecting them by Christians in the United States. Mistakes were made both in the facts of their history and in the judgment formed of their capacity, acquirements and piety. These mistakes arose from several causes; from the difficulty of communicating with persons of another tongue, from an entire ignorance of the peculiarities of their national character and disposition, and from a natural tendency at that time existing to clothe with a shade of romance every thing relating to the "far distant and sea-girt isles."

Opukahaia was the son of a heathen priest. So obscure, however, were his parents that it is difficult by inquiries to gain any knowledge respecting them. His father died a natural death; so did also his mother; nothing peculiar is known of either. Some of his older brothers were slain at Nuuanu in the battle of Kalanikupule with Kamehameha. Opukahaia went to sea, just as many of his countrymen did then and as hundreds do now, with no views other than those that usually

actuate sailors. On his arrival in New Haven (1809), he resided awhile with Captain Brintnal, the master of the ship in which he sailed. During this time he was seen weeping on the college threshold by Mr. E. W. Dwight—a man who loved the heathen for Christ's sake. That Opukahaia was weeping over his ignorance and sighing for knowledge was a picture very easy and natural for Mr. Dwight's imagination but one which he would not have formed had he been acquainted with heathen character. The tender and benevolent heart of Mr. Dwight was deeply touched and he received Opukahaia as his pupil. Soon after, S. J. Mills, on a visit to New Haven, became acquainted with this heathen youth, and with a facility in planning and boldness of enterprise, entirely characteristic, conceived at once of a mission to the Sandwich Islands. In writing to a kindred spirit, Gordon Hall, he exclaims, "What does this mean? Do you understand it? Shall he be sent back unsupported to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not rather consider those southern islands a proper place for the establishment of a mission?"

It is the concurrence of circumstances, in the providence of God, rather than anything peculiarly striking in the character of Opukahaia and his companions that is worthy of special remark and admiring gratitude.

There is much reason to hope that Opukahaia became a Christian. He expressed a desire to return to the islands and instruct his countrymen in the knowledge of the true God. But, whilst in a course of preparation, he sickened and died. He lived till much interest was excited among Christians in behalf of his countrymen, and a mission to the islands was rendered certain and near at hand. The mission was the great object in the mind of God, and the great end for the accomplishment of which he caused all things to work together.

Several of the companions of Opukahaia, educated at Cornwall, Kanui (Tenooe) Hopu, Honori (Honoree) and Humehume (George Tamoree) lived to sail with the first missionaries, the three first as assistants, the last on a return to

his father. From what was subsequently learned of their ignorance, waywardness and instability of character, of which there will be occasion to speak hereafter, one is led to entertain doubt of even Opukahaia himself. But he appeared, in many respects, quite different from his companions and we have strong hope that he became a true convert and died in Jesus. But be that as it may, the interest created through him at the very juncture of time that many other events were alike conspiring is a fact that one cannot look back to without thrilling emotion and deep admiration of the providence of God.

Kamehameha was not spared to welcome to his shores the heralds of salvation. The church was too dilatory in her movements. Before the messengers of mercy arrived he had sunk, in his heathenism, to a dark and cheerless grave. O, who can count the millions and hundreds of millions of precious souls that are lost through the tardiness of the church!

The next step in the work of preparation was the entire overthrow of the tabu system. This event took place soon after the death of Kamehameha and while his son and successor, Liholiho, was still engaged in the excesses customary on the death of a sovereign chief.

This event indeed marks the most important era in the history of the nation and has ever been one of thrilling interest in Christian lands wherever the intelligence has reached. The motives which led to it have been variously stated by different writers, who have touched upon Hawaiian history, their accounts being rather matter of conjecture than a careful and exact collection of the circumstances of the case. A true and precise statement of all the facts is extremely desirable, but very difficult to be obtained. Having however made repeated and very minute inquiries of many intelligent natives who were eyewitnesses and actors in the scene, and particularly through the medium of the historical society, I indulge a hope that the following details may not be far from the truth. It may be well, however, before giving a direct narrative to make a remark or two upon some representations,

or rather conjectures, which may have met the reader's eye in various periodicals.

I have seen remarks in which much stress is laid on an alleged emanation of influence from the Society Islands, stating that a report of the renunciation of idolatry at those islands had been brought in various ways to these shores, and that some few Sandwich Islanders who had chanced in their sea-faring life to have been thrown on Tahiti had been instructed there in the Christian religion and had then returned hither, bringing to their benighted countrymen the precious news of salvation. These circumstances being related as facts, the most important inferences, of course, are readily made from them. To some small extent these statements may have been true. It appears that a very indistinct report of some great change at Tahiti had indeed reached the ears of some of the chiefs and people, but what that change was they had little or no conception, and that it exerted much influence upon their minds is a matter of conjecture rather than of history. That Sandwich Islanders had returned from those islands instructed somewhat in the Christian religion may have been true, but they could not have exerted any influence to be accounted of, for no traces of such influence can now be discovered, and so far as my inquiries have extended, I have not been able to find any person knowing to the fact that any such of their countrymen ever arrived. The only faint trace of early influence from the Society Islands that I have met with is simply the following tradition: Some one from those islands told Kamehameha that Pomare, the king, had teachers at his islands, that he had made a great change in his worship and was learning the palapala (to read and to write). Kamehameha replied, rather in a way of unbelief, "Why then has he not sent a palapala to me?"

A second motive for the abolition of idolatry at these islands has been found by the imaginative in the following way: They take for granted that the Hawaiian chiefs and people were knowing to the fact that Opukahaia (Obookiah) and others were acquiring a Christian education in America

and were intending to return as teachers to their countrymen. This being supposed, it is imagined that the circumstance must have exerted much influence toward the abolition of idolatry. But it were scarcely possible to form a conjecture more wild and visionary. The Hawaiian chiefs and people had no more thought of Opukahaia and his companions than Americans would have of some wandering sailors who might chance to be residing on some foreign shore. Hundreds of the natives of the islands had at that time commenced a sea-faring life on board of foreign ships and there is no reason to think that Opukahaia had any motives different from others in going to sea, or that the minds of his countrymen followed him with any more thought or care.

These misapprehensions being thus noticed, the way is now prepared to state in the form of direct narration all the facts and circumstances of the case so far as they can be ascertained.

Their idol worship, as has been stated, was variously interwoven with the tabu system—or a system of restrictions and prohibitions. This connection was intimate and indissoluble, so that the one could not be given up without the other. The prohibitions were very numerous and very grievous to be borne. They extended to sacred days, sacred places, sacred persons, and sacred things; and the least failure to observe them was at the peril of life. A prohibition which weighed as heavily as any other was that in regard to eating. Chiefs were prohibited from eating swine's flesh except in connection with certain religious rites. Women and even female chiefs were prohibited on penalty of death from eating swine's flesh on any occasion, and also from eating several species of fish and many kinds of fruit. Males and females were not allowed to eat together; even husbands and wives could on no occasion eat together but on penalty of death. This prohibition was peculiarly oppressive, and, as the narration will show, was the first to be violated. And upon its violation hung more decisive events than could have been foreseen. It was like sundering the key stone of an

arch. The whole structure, both of tabu rites and idol worship, fell at once into ruins.

The state of mind among both chiefs and people which eventuated in breaking tabu and the consequent renunciation of idolatry was not the result of special and intelligent deliberation, but was gradually and imperceptibly induced by a train of circumstances and the concurrence of many and various influences. So insidiously was the system undermined that it is difficult to look back upon any particular influence that was specially prominent.

The testimony of all foreigners from their very first arrival at the Islands was uniformly against tabu. Whatever might have been the feelings of some in regard to religion or morality, and however slow to give instruction about God and eternity, all, I believe, without exception, found it agreeable to their feelings and in accordance with their interest to speak against tabu; for the numerous prohibitions were exceedingly perplexing and burdensome, not to the natives only, but also to visitors and to foreign residents. This constant and united opposition doubtless did much to undermine the system, for the natives respected foreigners as persons of superior knowledge.

Foreigners not only gave their testimony against tabu, but the force of their example. They did more than this, they practiced allurements and placed strong temptations frequently before particular persons, especially before the chiefs, to break tabu. In many instances the allurements or temptation succeeded and the people had the opportunity of observing that no harm followed—that neither death or any punishment was inflicted by the gods. Thus the force and superstitious fear of tabu was constantly lessened.

Vancouver, in one of his interviews with Kamehameha, said to him: "I am returning to Great Britain and shall use my endeavors to have ministers of the gospel sent to you. When they shall arrive they will observe none of your tabus and you and your people must also forsake them, for they are vain and foolish." This advice from a person much rever-

enced by the people in all his intercourse at the islands had doubtless much influence.

When Kamehameha was residing on Oahu many of the chiefs learned to talk a little in English, and Liholiho, the king's son, desiring to learn English, a trader (Mr. Marshall, if I mistake not), undertook to teach him to read. When Mr. Marshall had gained his confidence and made some progress in teaching him, he took the opportunity to give him in substance the following advice: "When you have learned to read, it will be the first step of true knowledge to renounce tabu."

On one occasion during Kamehameha's last sickness he is said to have addressed his chiefs in something like the following terms: "If I shall recover from this sickness the charge of tabu shall devolve upon Liholiho, my son and successor, and he shall uphold the system, but the rest of us will live unrestrained." Having no notion of a future state, the most that religion could do in his estimation was to ensure long life and temporal prosperity. Being old and sick, and having applied in vain to various gods for restoration, he became discouraged and concluded that he was too old to receive any more benefit from religion—that it could be of no farther use to him though it might be of service to his children. The remark, though perhaps the result of discontent and discouragement, shows that on the mind of Kamehameha the strength of tabu was broken—that the idea of its renunciation was no longer clothed with the customary awe and dread; and this speech, which seemed a contemptuous braving of tabu and the gods, when circulated among the people had no little influence on their minds to lead them to the same state of feeling.

On the death of Kamehameha, which took place the 8th of May, 1819, at Kailua, a little before the dawn of day, the chiefs present immediately consulted together in regard to the various ceremonies that should be observed. The chiefs present were Kalanimoku, Ulumeheihei, Naihe, Kaikioewa, Kaahumanu, Keopuolani, and Kaheihimalie. All requested of Kaahumanu, a wife of Kamehameha, who was allowed to

have a special right to direct in the case: "Let the usual ceremonies be neglected, let the living and the dead remain together in the same house, oblige not Liholiho, after former custom, to go to a distance to avoid ceremonial pollution, let us disregard all former observances and take the present occasion to renounce tabu, with all its various restraints and burdens." Kaahumanu, however, did not consent and the usual heathen rites were observed. The proposal shows the state of mind that was beginning to prevail, and it opened the way for many to break tabu at once and to run the risk of its terrors.

That very day many of the common people, males and females and some few chiefs also, ate together, and in the evening not a few women ate cocoanuts and bananas, things before tabu or sacred. A day or two after, most of the female chiefs ate things that had been prohibited to them and even partook of swine's flesh, which was considered the article most strictly tabu. Kekauluohi, the present prime agent of government, was the first female chief who partook of swine's flesh. No sooner did these persons forsake tabu than, to be consistent, they forsook also their idol gods and paid them little or no attention.

Many of the highest chiefs of the nation were females and they had all along felt peculiarly burdened and uneasy, but the priests had succeeded in restraining them by making them believe that if they violated any prohibition they would be destroyed by the gods. This threat they now began to doubt, for they saw foreigners living with impunity without any such observances. Besides, (a fact which shows the power of God to bring good out of evil), ardent spirits had been introduced among them, and they often when partially intoxicated, trampled heedlessly on prohibitions of their idolatrous system and yet were not destroyed by the gods. The awful dread, therefore, which formerly existed, had in a measure subsided; and when no longer restrained by fear, the female chiefs especially, were quite ready to throw off the burdens so long imposed upon them.

The common people, seeing many chiefs forsaking tabu

and throwing off restraint, were emboldened to do so also and the number rapidly increased. Still, however, the revolution had not taken place, for Liholiho, the new king, and the highest chiefs, such as Kaahumanu and Keopuolani, had refrained as yet from any violation of tabu.

About ten days after the death of Kamehameha, Liholiho returned from Kawaihae, whither he had been sent to avoid ceremonial pollution.

While Liholiho was at Kawaihae, one of the chiefs with him was Kekuaokalani, the chief who afterwards fought in behalf of tabu. When Liholiho was sent for to return to Kailua, he went to Kekuaokalani, saying, "Let us return." Kekuaokalani replied, fearing probably the intention of the chiefs to urge Liholiho to break the tabu: "No, let us remain, we have abundance of food, and I have great dread of being killed by the gods when in some desolate place." Liholiho, however, returned.

Two days after his arrival at Kailua his coronation took place with much ceremony in presence of all the chiefs. Kaahumanu was chief actor in the ceremony of coronation and at the conclusion of her address to the young king she said: "Let us henceforth disregard the restraints of tabu." The king was silent and withheld consent.

Then Keopuolani, the mother of the present king, Kauikeaouli, was touched with love for Kaahumanu because her proposal was refused. She thought perhaps that the proposal might eventually bring upon Kaahumanu the extreme vengeance of violated tabu, and she interested herself at once to affect for her an escape. Kauikeaouli, then a child, was with his brother Liholiho. Keopuolani sent for the child to come and eat with her and break tabu. Mokuohai was the messenger who went on this important errand. Liholiho inquired of him, "Who sent you with such a message?" He replied, "Keopuolani." Liholiho said: "Kamehameha, our father, commanded us to observe tabu even to the last extremity of distress and poverty; but since now the mother of this child has sent for him to violate tabu, I will go myself and witness the act and see if any harm shall follow."

Liholiho therefore with little hesitation led Kauikeaouli, his younger brother, to Keopuolani, his mother, and witnessed the act of his being made to violate tabu. Seeing no evil follow, he was heard to say on his return: "It is well to renounce tabu and for husbands and wives to eat and dwell together; there will be less opportunity for unfaithfulness and fraud." He as yet, however, cautiously abstained from any violation and returned soon from the scene lest some pollution might cleave to him.

Soon after this event Liholiho went to Kawaihae, drank freely of ardent spirits, and in the midst of his drunkenness attempted to observe the rites of consecrating a heathen temple. But the rites were performed just in the manner that might be expected amidst the excesses of intoxication. The purified and the unpurified, the continued devotees of heathenism and the violators of tabu crowded promiscuously into the enclosure and engaged in the various rites and ceremonies. Even swine's flesh, after being offered on the altar was distributed to be eaten by the women—the grossest possible act of violation, according to the rules of tabu.

Liholiho then returned and proceeded to Honokohau and attempted in like manner to consecrate a temple there in the midst of drunkenness. Of course the same irregularities took place. An attempt was made to keep out of the enclosure the violators of tabu, but it was of no use, they had become so numerous. Various attempts were made to obtain what was called the aha, a pure and uncontaminated prayer or ceremony, after which it might be lawful to indulge in a feast, but of course in the state of things no such act of ceremonial purity could be obtained. Liholiho was then heard to use expressions of impatience and of contempt toward the gods: "Bake the hogs and let us feast, not we, but the god shall be destitute, for he will not give us the aha by which he should be entitled to offerings." Liholiho, however, though he made this threat, did not carry it into execution. But it seemed clear that he had become almost irreligious enough to renounce tabu altogether.

During these unsuccessful ceremonies at Honokohau Kaa-

humanu sent a messenger to him. The messenger approached with respect and submission. Liholiho inquired: "What is your message." He replied: "I am sent by your guardian to request that when you return to Kailua you will return with your god enveloped in ti leaf;" a proposition meaning no less than to break tabu and to renounce idols. Liholiho bowed as though assenting.

He immediately embarked in a boat for Kailua. He was two days on the ocean and constantly indulging himself in the excesses of drunkenness. It is thought by some that Liholiho indulged in intoxication in order to fortify himself to violate tabu. During the two days that he was on the ocean and in a state of intoxication his first acts of violating tabu took place. He ate dog's flesh with the females who were with him on board the boat, and when he was leaning his head on the bosom of Kinau with his mouth open she filled her mouth with water and let it drop into his. He also drank rum with the female chiefs and smoked from the same pipes.

When he arrived at Kailua these acts of violation were speedily communicated to the chiefs and people who were eager to seize the information and who instantly exclaimed: "Liholiho has violated tabu, there is no longer any restraint." Hogs and dogs were immediately baked, other provisions were made ready, and chiefs male and female, and Liholiho among the rest, sat down and feasted together.

Liholiho, it has been seen, was slow to yield. He was constrained, as it were, by the force of general sentiment and example among his chiefs and people. Of course when he at length gave his assent but little work remained for him to do. The chiefs, as a body, readily and eagerly trampled on all the unpleasant restraints under which they had formerly lived. In doing this they were aware that they threw off all allegiance to their gods and were treating them with contempt. They saw that they had taken a bold stand and that safety now consisted in effecting an entire revolution. The king and chiefs immediately took measures to involve the common people far and near in the act of violating tabu, sending special messengers to all parts of the kingdom, even to the

remote island of Kauai. Kaumualii, king of Kauai, and the common people as a body, on all the islands, obeyed the message of Liholiho with eagerness and with joy.

Then might have been witnessed many a scene of peculiar interest. There was no one perhaps from whose mind the dread of tabu had entirely departed, and not a few were exercised with horror and dismay at the thought of braving at once the power of the gods and of trampling with contempt on rites and customs that had been held sacred and inviolate from time immemorial. Imagine for a moment one of many of the scenes that occurred: A feast is prepared by the king, and for the purpose perhaps of making a more formal and public exhibition of his own violation of tabu. Provisions are prepared of all kinds and in great abundance and spread upon mats through the whole extent of a long thatched building. Many guests are invited, particularly chiefs and persons of trust and influence. They arrive; the males apart and the females apart, instinctively adhering to former custom. But they are about for the first time to eat together and partake promiscuously of all kinds of food in defiance of the gods and the customs of ages. The house is surrounded by a multitude of the common people who thrust in their heads at every door and window and every opening in the thatch, gaping and staring with expectation and fear. The guests, at the invitation of the king, sit down to the feast, but most, instead of reaching forth their hands at once to the food, turn their eyes upon each other in anxiety and expectation. One reaches forth his hand, but it trembles and he draws it back again. Another seizes a portion of food and raises it nearly to his mouth and then lets it fall, for his resolution fails. Another is so filled with fear that he moves back, sits in silence and gazes at the rest. Others less fearful seize the food at once and urge their companions to follow their example. In the meanwhile the crowd at the doors and windows with open mouths and projecting eye-balls are looking with intense interest and perhaps expecting that these first violators of tabu will presently fall down dead. They gaze and gaze for a long time, and perceiving no one

turning pale or becoming sick or receiving any harm, they then raise a shout and cry: "It is well to violate the tabu, the customs are a cheat and the gods are a lie."

Very many such scenes as this took place, some more conspicuous and others more obscure, the minds of the people alternating between courage and fear,—vascillating indeed between the force of former customs and a desire of change.

Though many of the people readily obeyed the first intimation of the king to forsake the gods and to cast off their former customs, yet idolatry was too old a system and too firmly rooted to be relinquished without a struggle.

A chief by the name of Kekuaokalani clung to idolatry and firmly withstood all solicitations and all commands to relinquish it. The priests flocked about him and encouraged him with the highest promises of favor from the gods, saying the kingdom should be his, since he only stood faithful. A large body of the people, when they found that there was still a chief on the side of idolatry, flocked over to his standard. The king and chiefs used with him every means of a persuasive and conciliatory kind. Hoapili and Naihe, chiefs nearly related to Kekuaokalani, were sent to try the force of argument and entreaty. Keopuolani, also, and Kaheiheimalie, two of the oldest and most venerated chiefs, went to add their counsel and the weight of their influence. Their entreaties were utterly vain, and they themselves escaped with the hazard of their lives. It was found necessary to resort to the open field of battle. The two armies, armed with horrid war-clubs and barbed spears, met on the plain of Kuamoo. The question to be settled is the existence or abolition of idolatry. O, what an hour of interest! The God of battles had the direction of events. Kekuaokalani was killed and his army subdued. Immediately the whole mass of the people made thorough work in demolishing their sacred enclosures and destroying their gods.

This is a statement of the event in a few words, but its importance will allow perhaps of a more detailed account, which I shall here venture to add.

Kekuaokalani was a son of Kamehameha's younger broth-

er. When he became apprised of the facts that have been related in regard to the violation of tabu he was highly incensed at Kaahumanu and others for having instigated the king to such measures. He dwelt separate at Kaawaloa contemplating the innovation with much displeasure and superstitious dread. Some priests and counselors of war left Liholiho and connected themselves with Kekuaokalani, exciting him to resist by all the motives they could urge. They addressed him thus: "Of all the wicked deeds of wicked kings in past ages for which they lost their kingdoms, none was equal to this of Liholiho." They gave the crown to Kekuaokalani, repeating this proverb of the ancient Hawaiians: "A religious chief shall possess a kingdom, but wicked chiefs shall always be poor." Being thus encouraged by the priests, he was determined to withstand the late innovations and destroy those who introduced and upheld them.

Then followed days of perplexity in which the majority of the people and chiefs espoused the cause of Kekuaokalani. His mother Piia was sent to him, entreating that he would change his course and become loyal, but he would not hear. As the number increased in favor of revolt, a rebellion broke out in Hamakua, headed by an obscure man by the name of Kainapau. When the chiefs at Kona heard of this, Liholiho despatched Kainapau, a chief, to look at the state of things there. The royal party and the insurgents met at Mahiki, a skirmish ensued in which the chief Kainapau was slain by Kainapau, the back-woods man. Two of the king's adherents fell by his hand.

When this news reached the ears of the king a consultation was held in reference to carrying on the war at Hamakua. But Kalanimoku said: "It is not good policy to carry on the war in that quarter; for Kekuaokalani, the source of the war, is at Kaawaloa. To that place let our forces be directed. The rebellion in Hamakua is a leaf of the tree. I would lay the axe at the root; that being destroyed, the leaves will of course wither." This advice was received with general approbation. Naihe and Hoapili were appointed to

visit Kekuaokalani and effect if possible an amicable reconciliation; if not war was to follow. Keopuolani and another chief of their own accord accompanied the two ambassadors, who reached Kaawaloa in the evening and had an interview with Kekuaokalani. Hoapili addressed him thus: "Attend; I am sent to you on business; look at me, you are my sister's son; I am come for you; let us go to Kailua to the king, for the common people are fighting and they lay the blame of it upon you, and the allegation has an appearance of truth, inasmuch as you reside by yourself at a distance from the king. Let us return to Kailua and reside with Liholiho, that the charge of this rebellion may not rest upon you;—at least visit the king and confer with him—whether you shall break the ancient tabu or not, that is quite at your option." To this Kekuaokalani replied, "Very well, I will go, but wait a little, I must confer first with Manono, my wife, then I will go, but understand, I shall not eat in violation of the old system." This said, he went to see his wife, and Hoapili lodged at the house of Naihe.

That night orders were publicly cried among the followers of Kekuaokalani that they should make ready their canoes for an expedition to Kailua and join in demolishing the old institution. The king's messengers, hearing this, supposed that their embassy had proved successful. But it was an act of dissimulation. Kekuaokalani's adherents urged him to kill Hoapili and Keopuolani on the spot, to which however he would not consent. In the morning he and his men came forth with guns in their hands and long spears, and torches, and sandals; and marshalling themselves in ranks stood in array before the agents of the king; from which it was evident they were prepared for hostilities. Then the rebel chief sat down before Hoapili and Keopuolani. Hoapili inquired of him: "Is this the style in which we are going?" He replied, "Yes." Hoapili added, "You will accompany us in the canoes." The other replied, "I and my company will go inland, where are men to prepare and ovens to bake food, else we shall die of hunger." Hoapili replied, "Arrange as you please about the men, accompany me yourself; let the

men go by land; you are the one for whom I came." The reply to this was, "I shall not go by sea, I and mine will go by land." Then said Keopuolani to Hoapili, "Brother, it is of no use—cut the cord of friendship."

When this conference was concluded Kekuaokalani pursued the course on which he had determined, while Hoapili and his associates went on board their canoes. Naihe advised Hoapili to sail for Keauhou and delay there till Kekuaokalani should arrive, then proceed again. Keopuolani returned directly to Kailua, and on meeting with the king, she said to him, as the tears were flowing down her cheeks, "It is a wonder that you see me, I barely escaped with my life." Kalanimoku inquired, "Where is Kekuaokalani?" She answered, "He is on his way inland." Kalanimoku again asked, "How has your embassy sped?" She replied, "Friendly negotiations are ended, the work that remains devolves on you—the work of death." That night the guns were given out and in the morning they marched for the battle. Kalanimoku arranged the forces in nine battalions and charged them, saying: "Be still; make no noise; be strong; drink bitter water, my children, turn not back; forward even unto death; there is nothing behind to which you can turn."

The disloyal chief, hearing that the royal forces were on the way, sent a scouting party, which met with Kalanimoku at Lekeleke, and discharging their guns killed several. Kalanimoku at first fled, but the party being small, he turned upon them and pursued them to Kuamoo, where the armies encountered each other. The combat which commenced about noon continued till evening, when Kekuaokalani and Manono, his wife, hemmed in by the king's armed forces by land and sea, were slain.

The idolatrous forces, after the fall of their chief, made but feeble resistance and were readily scattered or taken captive. It is painful to contemplate the death of Kekuaokalani, of Manono, a wife who seems to have been unusually affectionate, and of the many friends and adherents who fought with acknowledged steadfastness and courage and

fell on the field of battle. Kekuaokalani was young, enterprising and resolute, and to say the least, actuated by as good motives as the atheistical and revolutionary party by whom he was slain. Manono is said to have been an interesting woman, and she certainly gave evidence of attachment and affection. Not even the horrors of savage fight could prevent her from following the fortune and sharing the dangers of her husband. We lament their untimely end, and our lamentation is much increased by the recollection of the delusion of which they were the ill-fated victims and in support of which they were prodigal of their blood. Alas! they knew not till from the fatal field they entered the eternal world the value of that life which they had lost and the true nature of that cause in which they had sacrificed it.

Kekuaokalani being slain and his forces subdued, the war was carried next to Waimea and the insurgents in that region destroyed, and thus a complete triumph was gained over those who strove to perpetuate the ancient tabu system.

The war having thus resulted in the entire overthrow of the idolatrous party, both chiefs and people united with one voice and in the strongest terms to reproach the folly and impotency of their former idol gods. They exclaimed, "The case is now fairly tested, the army with idols was weak, the army without idols was strong and victorious. There is no power in the gods, they are vanity and a lie." Their rage toward idols by which they had been so long enthralled and who had now failed them in the day of battle was unbounded. They began the work of destruction. Some of their idols they cast into the sea, some they burnt, and some they treated with contempt and used for fuel. They rushed to the temples and tore them to the ground. They slew Kuawa, the priest who had exerted most influence with Kekuaokalani in leading him to uphold idolatry. They placed no restraint upon their wrath, but vented it to the utmost in acts of retaliation. It seems that Eternal Wisdom had permitted the war to convince the people thus thoroughly of the impotence of idols. It was not till after the war that the people made anything like thorough work in casting off the

shackles of idolatry. The question seemed to be so clearly tested that their eyes were opened.

This unparalleled event did not result, as has been seen, from the influence of Christianity, nor from any good motive; but it was an instance in which the wonderworking hand of God was displayed in overruling the basest appetites and the vilest passions of men to accomplish His benevolent purposes. Opukahaia (Obookiah) had sent up many a prayer for his countrymen which was remembered before God. A Samuel J. Mills, and other Christians of America, had mingled their supplications with his. Missionaries were on the ocean approaching the islands with devotement of soul, strong faith, and humble prayer; and followed by the earnest intercessions of a Worcester, an Evarts, and many a friend of the heavenly enterprise. Thus the idolatry of Hawaii was besieged by faith and prayer, and, like the walls of Jericho, crumbled and fell.

Little did Kekuaokalani, the pagan chief, imagine, when he marshalled his warriors, offered sacrifices and oblations, and preceded by his cherished and decorated idols, marched to the battle ground, that he was in the very act of removing the most formidable barrier that existed to the introduction of the true religion; and as little did the victorious party, when returning in triumph from the field of contest, imagine that success had only prepared the way for their own subjection to the Prince of Peace, whose heralds (then on their way) should soon erect among them His glorious banner, and through divine power win them over to become the delighted subjects of His pure, righteous and everlasting reign.

The missionaries, with some Hawaiian youth educated at Cornwall, arrive within sight of the islands. I can almost imagine that I see them standing upon the deck, and gazing at the snow-crested mountains as they first heave in sight. O, what sensations fill their souls! They bow their knees before the God of missions—thank Him for His protection o'er the boisterous deep—and in view of the untried and perilous scenes in prospect, cast themselves entirely on the arm of His strength. The events that had taken place at the islands

were entirely unknown to them—all to them was uncertainty, except that they had confidence in the protection and aid of the God of missions. Cheered and encouraged by a commitment of themselves to the great Jehovah, they arise from their knees, and still standing upon the deck, and gazing at the towering mountains, shaded forests and extended plains, unite in a song of deep-felt praise and holy courage, which they had composed for the occasion.

Soon the shore is distinctly in view, with its cultivated fields and clustering huts. Then some specks are noticed on the waves, and as they approach are seen to be canoes filled with men and women. The missionaries gaze upon these naked, tawny, sun-burnt beings, and are amazed that human nature could be sunk so low. The sailors turn to the missionaries with an expression of countenance that seems to say, "You must return with us to America; you and your wives cannot live with these filthy, savage, and brutal beings—it is impossible." But the missionaries had counted the cost, and as they now fix their eyes on the miserable objects, they see concealed under their deep degradation precious and immortal souls, destined to vie with Gabriel in intellectual power and moral feeling; and as they look upon their wretchedness and gloomy condition, only desire the more to be the instruments of their salvation.

The inquiry is made, "What is the state of the islands?" The answer is: "LIHOLIHO IS KING—THE ISLANDS ARE AT PEACE—THE TABU SYSTEM IS NO MORE—THE GODS ARE DESTROYED, AND THE TEMPLES ARE DEMOLISHED." O, what an hour was that! It were worth a voyage through five oceans, simply to experience the sensations of wonder, joy, and praise which our missionaries then felt.

This unprecedented revolution, I remark again, had taken place simply in answer to prayer. In affecting it, the all-wise God had made use of the base appetites and vices of men. The nation was now without any religion—and at this favorable moment the religion of Jesus was brought to their reception. If Christianity had not been introduced at

this time, the people would have been in a worse condition than before; for even idolatry is better than atheism. God had the ordering of events, and all things were rightly timed.

The missionaries first saw the cloud-capped mountains of Hawaii on the 30th of March, 1820, and entered the harbor of Kailua on the 4th day of April, a short time only after the decisive battle, and near the field of the bloody engagement. The king and the chiefs had not yet dispersed. The missionary company went on shore to see the chiefs and ask permission to reside among them. A Cornwall youth ran before, and inquired if the house of the chiefs was tabu, or prohibited. The answer was: "It is not." The missionaries entered, and the Cornwall youth introduced them by saying, "These persons are the priests of the most high God, the Maker of heaven and earth."

On account of this forwardness of the Cornwall youth in approaching thus readily into the presence of the chiefs, the people exclaimed, "Mahaoi!" (Impudence!) and that became his name ever after.

The chiefs received the missionaries with respect, and heard their proposal, but declined giving an immediate answer. They remained in council several days, and whilst discussing the question before them, some foreigners, it is said, who had gained residence there, advised them to send back the missionaries; and only one, it is believed, encouraged their reception.

Another difficulty also presented itself. Vancouver, as has been said, gave encouragement to Kamehameha that missionaries should be sent to him from England. The chiefs remembered this promise and therefore were in doubt whether it was consistent to receive missionaries from another country. This doubt was removed by John Young, the Englishman before named who had fought in the battles of Kamehameha, and who had been commended to their confidence by Vancouver. He gave his decided advice in favor of the missionaries and said to the chiefs, "Missionaries from America are the same as missionaries from England; they

worship the same God and teach the same religion." The difficulty being thus solved, the whole weight of Vancouver's advice turned in favor of receiving the missionaries who had arrived, and the king and chiefs had but little further hesitation in giving them a welcome on shore.

While the question was pending, it was a season of immense interest with the missionaries, and they spent much time in prayer before God. They would have felt more solicitude had not the hand of God been already so remarkably displayed in opening the way before them. It was a time of deep feeling, for, in behalf of the Sandwich Islands, the glories of Christianity or the horrors of heathenism were held in a trembling balance. In the event, notice again the favor of God. The chiefs concluded, notwithstanding the opposition of many ill-minded foreigners, to permit the missionaries to reside among them.

The wives of the missionaries, as they first landed, were an immense curiosity to the people. They were the first white females they had seen. The people crowded about in great multitudes to gaze upon them, and exhibited the greatest eloquence and the most earnest gestures in describing their appearance and their dress.

On account of the peculiar form of their bonnets, giving a long appearance to their necks, the natives exclaimed, "Ai oeoe" (long necks); and in accordance with the habits of the people, "Ai oeoe" became the common appellation to designate missionaries for some years after.

The people showed not only their curiosity and interest, but seemed kind and well pleased. The wives of the missionaries, too, presented an argument of immense importance. It is said that when some foreigners remarked to the chiefs that the missionaries had come to make war upon them, and dispossess them of their land, they replied: "If they had come to make war, would they have brought with them their delicate wives?" The same has been the unanswerable argument in the commencement of other missions. Their presence has been the best possible defence.

Agreeable to the wishes of the chiefs, some of the mis-

sionaries remained at Kailua—others designated by lot went to Oahu with the king—and others accompanied the son of Kaumualii to the Island of Kauai. So the way was fully opened, and the messengers of mercy immediately planted on three of the principal islands.

It is in place to mention here the names of some of the laborers in this missionary field; and that I may avoid interruption in the thread of narrative hereafter, I shall take the liberty to anticipate time and give at once statistics of all the laborers who in the providence of God have been allowed to share in the good work at these islands.

The pioneer company of missionaries to the islands arrived March 30th, 1820, and consisted of the following persons, with their wives: Asa Thurston and Hiram Bingham, ordained missionaries; Daniel Chamberlain, farmer; Thomas Holman, physician; Samuel Whitney, mechanic and teacher, (since ordained to the work of the ministry); Samuel Ruggles, catechist and teacher; and Elisha Loomis, printer and teacher. Three natives of the islands, who had received some little education at Cornwall, Honolii, Hopu and Kanui, were also attached to the company of pioneers. Humehume, also, son of Kaumualii, the chief of Kauai, sailed with them on a return to his father.

Here should be added the Rev. William Ellis, of the London Missionary Society, who was providentially led here from the Society Islands. Some native assistants from those islands should also be mentioned. He arrived April 16th, 1822, returned that year for his wife, and left finally September, 1824, making a residence on the islands, allowing for the interruption, of about two years.

The first reinforcement to the mission arrived April 27, 1823, and consisted of William Richards, Charles S. Stewart and Artemus Bishop, ordained missionaries; Joseph Goodrich and James Ely, licensed preachers; Abraham Blatchley, physician; their wives; Levi Chamberlain, superintendent of secular concerns; Miss Betsey Stockton, a colored woman; one native of the Society Islands and three of the Sandwich Islands who had received some education at the Cornwall school.

The second reinforcement arrived March 31st, 1828, and consisted of Lorrin Andrews, Jonathan S. Green, Peter J. Gulick and Ephraim W. Clark, ordained missionaries; Ger-rit P. Judd, physician; Stephen Shephard, printer; their wives; Miss Maria C. Ogden, Miss Delia Stone, Miss Mary Ward and Miss Maria Patten, assistants and teachers.

The third reinforcement arrived June 7th, 1831, and consisted of Dwight Baldwin, Reuben Tinker and Sheldon Dibble, ordained missionaries, Andrew Johnstone, assistant in secular affairs, and their wives.

The fourth reinforcement arrived May 17th, 1832, and consisted of John S. Emerson, David B. Lyman, Ephraim Spaulding, William P. Alexander, Richard Armstrong, Cochran Forbes, Harvey R. Hitchcock and Lorenzo Lyons, ordained missionaries; Alonzo Chapin, physician; their wives; and Edmund H. Rogers, printer.

The fifth reinforcement arrived in the spring of 1833, and consisted of Benjamin W. Parker and Lowell Smith, ordained missionaries; their wives; and Lemuel Fuller, printer. The Rev. John Diell arrived at the same time, under patronage of the American Seamen's Friend Society, to labor at the port of Honolulu. Mr. Diell lost his health, left the islands in the fall of 1840, and deceased on his passage home. News has been received (1842) of the appointment of Mr. Damon to fill his place, and that his arrival here may soon be expected.

The sixth reinforcement arrived June 6th, 1835, and consisted of Titus Coan, ordained missionary, Henry Dimond, bookbinder, Edwin O. Hall, printer; their wives; Miss Lydia Brown and Miss Elizabeth M. Hitchcock.

The seventh reinforcement arrived in April, 1837, and consisted of Isaac Bliss, Daniel T. Conde, Mark Ives, ordained missionaries; Thomas Lafon, missionary and physician; Seth L. Andrews, physician; Samuel N. Castle, assistant secular superintendent; Edward Bailey, Amos S. Cooke, Edward Johnson, Horton O. Knapp, Edwin Locke, Charles McDonald, Bethuel Munn, William S. Van Duzee, Abner Wilcox, teachers; their wives; and also Miss Marcia M. Smith and Miss Lucia G. Smith, teachers.

The eighth reinforcement arrived in the spring of 1841, and consisted of Elias Bond, Daniel Dole, and John D. Paris, ordained missionaries; William H. Rice, teacher; and their wives; the original destination of Messrs. Paris and Rice was to the Oregon mission, but through their request it was changed by the Board to these islands.

Of the company of foreign laborers above named, one printer, one teacher and six female assistants have died in the field; left from failure of health or for other reasons, six ministers of the gospel, three physicians, two printers, one farmer, two teachers, and sixteen female assistants; remaining in the work or on temporary absences from it, though not all in connection with the American Board, twenty-six ministers, nine teachers, three physicians (one of whom is a minister), two printers, one bookbinder, two secular agents and forty-six female assistants.

Various changes have been continually taking place in location and in assignments of labors which it would not perhaps be interesting to notice.

The following are the stations taken and sustained by the mission with the date of occupation and the location of laborers in 1842.

ISLAND OF HAWAII.

Kailua, 1820—Asa Thurston, missionary; Seth L. Andrews, M. D., physician; Mrs. Thurston and Mrs. Andrews.

Kealakekua, 1824—Cochran Forbes and Mark Ives, missionaries; Mrs. Forbes and Mrs. Ives.

Waimea, 1832—Lorenzo Lyons, missionary, and Mrs. Lyons.

Hilo, 1824—David B. Lyman and Titus Coan, missionaries; Abner Wilcox, teacher; Mrs. Lyman, Mrs. Coan, and Mrs. Wilcox.

Kohala, 1837—Elias Bond, missionary; Mrs. Bond.

Kau, 1841—John D. Paris, missionary; Mrs. Paris.

ISLAND OF MAUI.

Lahaina, 1823—Dwight Baldwin, M. D., missionary; Mrs. Baldwin.

Lahainaluna, 1831—Ephraim W. Clark, Sheldon Dibble, John S. Emerson, missionaries; Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Dibble, Mrs. Emerson.

Wailuku, 1832—Jonathan S. Green, missionary; Edward Bailey, teacher; Mrs. Green and Mrs. Bailey, Miss Maria C. Ogden, teacher.

Hana, 1837—Daniel T. Conde, missionary; William H. Rice, teacher; Mrs. Conde and Mrs. Rice.

ISLAND OF MOLOKAI.

Kaluaaha, 1832—Harvey R. Hitchcock, missionary; Mrs. Hitchcock. Miss Lydia Brown, teacher. Mr. Munn on a visit to the United States.

ISLAND OF OAHU.

Honolulu, 1820—Richard Armstrong, Lowell Smith and Peter J. Gulick, missionaries; Levi Chamberlain, superintendent of secular concerns; Amos S. Cooke and Horton O. Knapp, teachers; Henry Dimond, bookbinder; Edwin O. Hall, secular assistant; Edmund H. Rogers, printer; Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Gulick, Mrs. Chamberlain, Mrs. Cooke, Mrs. Knapp, Mrs. Dimond, Mrs. Hall and Mrs. Rogers.

Punahou, 1841—Daniel Dole, missionary; Mrs. Dole, and Miss Marcia M. Smith.

Ewa, 1834—Artemus Bishop, missionary; and Mrs. Bishop.

Waialua, 1832—A. B. Smith, missionary; Edwin Locke, teacher; Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Locke.

Kaneohe, 1834—Benjamin W. Parker, missionary; Mrs. Parker. Rev. Hiram Bingham and Mrs. Bingham and Mr. Samuel N. Castle on a visit to the United States.

ISLAND OF KAUAI.

Waimea, 1820—Samuel Whitney, Missionary; Mrs. Whitney.

Koloa, 1834—Now vacant, but expected to be occupied

by a missionary and a physician now on their way to the islands.

Waioli, 1834—William P. Alexander, missionary; Edward Johnson, teacher; Mrs. Alexander and Mrs. Johnson.

The Rev. William Richards, Rev. Lorin Andrews, Rev. Thomas Lafon, M. D., Gerrit P. Judd, M. D., and Mr. Andrew Johnstone, teacher, and their wives, are also laboring directly for the good of the nation, though not at present under the care of the American Board. To this number ought perhaps to be added the Rev. Reuben Tinker, who is at present with his family in the United States, but for whose return we are allowed to hope. There are other residents who are pious, and others still of industry and good morals, whose influence upon the nation is salutary, but none that I am aware of whose exclusive object is professedly to enlighten and evangelize the people.

All the laborers above named received, company by company as they arrived, an express and cordial welcome from the chiefs and people to reside and labor among them,—a fact creditable to the nation and calling for special gratitude to the all wise disposer of events. Surely at these islands at least a door has been opened before the messengers of mercy that may justly be called wide and effectual.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME.

Obstacles—Uncomfortable Houses—Meager Fare—Difficulty of Communication—Forming a Language—Misconceptions and Jealousies—First Printing—Arrival of Mr. Ellis—First Marriage—Schools—Successful Labor—Hawaii Explored—New Stations—First Enquirers—First Baptism—Death of Keopuolani—Her Character—Bartemus and Others—Liholiho, his Character—Embarkation for England, and Death—War on Kauai—Conduct of Hoapili—Heathen Excesses—Conversion of Kaahumanu—Her Zeal.

We have seen that God remarkably prepared the way for the pioneers of the mission before they reached the islands, and that at their arrival they were favorably received. There were, however, difficulties and obstacles enough remaining to test their energy, their self-denial, their perseverance and their faith. It was a withering climate to which they had come, and a land far off from Christian countries and destitute of almost all the comforts of civilized life. Then, ignorance, degradation and crime among the people, and evils too introduced by dissipated foreigners, stood forth in all their prominence, loathsomeness and horror. These first difficulties with which the missionaries were called to contend are deserving of more notice than I shall be able in this limited work to bestow upon them.

In calling up some of them for consideration, it is natural to name first deprivations of a temporal kind. They constituted, of course, the least trial, inasmuch as bodily suffering is always less than that of the mind.

It is difficult for those who reside in a land of unrestrained plenty and of countless comforts to imagine what and how great were the deprivations of the first missionaries to these islands. It is indeed difficult for reinforcements recently arrived to form a view of things just as they were in those days of destitution and embarrassment. I know not how we

shall better be able to get at their condition than to contrast it with the comforts and conveniences that at present exist in the mission.

At present most of the members of the mission have comfortable houses of stone, mud brick or wood. By a comfortable house, I mean a house plainly finished with doors, windows, floor and ceiling, and containing a receiving room, a bed room, a children's bed room where necessary, a study, a room for doing domestic work and for eating, with a pantry annexed, and a place for a stove for cooking. Most of the houses of the missionaries are of stone, stone being both cheaper and cooler than wood. Some are constructed with mud bricks dried in the sun. Some are covered with shingle or zinc and others are thatched. In some cases, in addition to the rooms above named, there is a spare room for accomodating a stranger or a fellow laborer who may need to lodge for the night.

The first missionaries for a number of years were not thus favored. The houses they at first obtained were merely thatched huts like those of the natives, without floor, ceiling or any fixtures; simple openings serving for doors and windows.. A single low room of this kind was parlor, bedroom, spare room, pantry and study; and the cooking was either done in the open air, or in a shed adjacent. The missionaries soon began to improve upon the thatched native hut,—enlarged the size, made partitions, formed doors and windows, and in some few instances obtained boards for floors. But the native hut was warm, infested with vermin, and at rainy stations so damp as to wet one's feet in crossing the room; they were also too frail to be worthy of many fixtures or improvements. Attention was then turned to houses of stone, mud brick or wood, and as workmen could be obtained and the means afforded such houses have been gradually constructed till the mission has arrived at its present degree of comfort. But the progress was slow; even fourteen years after the commencement of the mission a majority of its members were still living in native thatched houses. Even then a reinforcement felt itself favored to obtain per-

manent houses as soon as three or four years after their arrival, and after having lost the vigor of health in miserable huts.

In regard to furniture, the change has been as great. In entering a missionary's house, at the present time, you will find chairs, a table, a settee perhaps, and in some cases a matting under foot; the various rooms have their appropriate furniture, plain indeed, but, with some exceptions, sufficient and comfortable. But these comforts have been obtained gradually. Time was, when a box in which one's goods came out served for a table, and smaller boxes for chairs, when a board nailed to the posts of the house served for cupboard and pantry, and another for clothes press and bureau, and when a stranger, if entertained, was obliged to lodge on mats spread on the ground for lack of both floor and bedstead. Neither was such the case with the first missionaries alone. One needs only cast his mind back five or six years to bring up fresh and vivid such instances of destitution.

At the present time horses are becoming common, but formerly the missionary was obliged to travel, though under a withering sun, entirely on foot. At present, milk and butter are obtained more or less at all the stations. But it is but a few years since milk could not be obtained even for the youngest children, far less for common use or for making butter. Now, chickens, ducks and turkeys can be obtained, and sometimes fresh beef; but once salt pork and beef from ships were the main dependence with hard bread and a little old flour—miserable and indigestible articles indeed after so long a voyage. We have also now Irish potatoes, Indian corn, tomatoes, a supply of molasses and sugar and some little native wheat, all which comforts are new and highly appreciated, and we are also better supplied than formerly with flour from the United States. Time was when flour and sugar were so sparingly supplied as not to admit of being freely used, but to be kept rather as occasional luxuries and especially for the sick and feeble.

These privations that I have named were endured in part because the islands were far off and articles of comfort

could not readily be imported; in part on account of some notions of economy then existing which are now looked back upon as having been extreme and erroneous; and in part because some comforts such as houses and furniture could not be obtained but at a great expenditure of funds for which the missionaries were unwilling to draw, till frequent failures of health forced upon them the necessity.

A missionary's support at the islands costs more now than some years ago, and for evident reasons. He lives now more in a style of civilization than formerly, and more articles of comfort have been developed at the islands and imported from abroad which can be obtained for money. As these comforts are continually increasing at the islands, the annual expenditure of a missionary will probably continue in some measure to increase, till the question shall arise whether the limit has not been reached where increase of comforts should cease and retrenchment should begin; if indeed that limit in some cases has not already been attained.

There was one alleviation to the destitute circumstances of the first missionaries, more particularly, however, after several years,—after indeed the first reinforcement had arrived.

Missionaries then being few in number, and looked upon as a novel company in the land and having gained confidence and esteem, were in a modified sense adopted into the family of chiefs, and received more personal favors and presents both from chiefs and people of such things as they were able to bestow than is common for any to receive at the present time. With this alleviation, hardly indeed worthy of being named, we must look upon them as patiently and cheerfully laboring, under circumstances of great poverty and deprivation.

But leaving this topic, which is deserving of less notice than others, we proceed to mention the great difficulty at first of communicating with the people. The pioneers arrived with hearts full of compassion for the perishing people and glowing with zeal to make known at once the precious name of Jesus—to tell the story of His death and to pro-

pose through His mediation the terms of salvation, rich, full and free. But they had come to a people of another tongue, to a people, too, without any written language and whose language even when thoroughly learned was exceedingly meager and deficient in terms to express the great truths of revelation.

The three youth who had been educated at Cornwall and who sailed, as has been said, with the pioneers, had been depended upon to act as interpreters and teachers. But too much had been expected of them. Having been absent many years from their native land they had forgotten much of their own tongue, but the greatest deficiency was that they knew far less the force and meaning of English words than was supposed. They were exceedingly ignorant—far more so than was imagined by their friends in the United States. Having been taught through the medium of the English only they had gained but a very few ideas, and many of the ideas they had gained were confused and incorrect. They were of course miserable interpreters and very poor teachers. They were often found teaching doctrines and practices altogether opposed to the precepts of the Bible and the spirit of the gospel. Besides, one of them, Kanui, soon fell into sin and was excommunicated; another, Hopu, was more correct at first but afterwards became wayward. In later years he has been several times suspended from the church for irregular conduct; and the third, Honoli, now dead, was a man naturally of a weak mind and frail body and could not of course be of much service. The natives who sailed with the first reinforcement proved to be no better assistants. Those who came with the pioneers were of some use as interpreters and in other ways, notwithstanding all their deficiencies and waywardness, but the company who came with the first reinforcement were certainly a hindrance in the work rather than a help. To have visited a foreign land, to be better clad than their fellow countrymen, to receive some attention from chiefs and foreigners, were distinctions which their weak brains and unstable minds could not endure. They soon made shipwreck of the hopes of their

friends, and it is to be feared also, in most cases, of their own souls.

The native youth named having failed in a great measure as interpreters, the necessity was the greater for the missionaries to acquire at once the language. And the same youth being of little service as helps in acquiring the language, the missionaries found nothing left but their own unassisted skill and application to accomplish the task. The task was indeed a difficult one, for there was no vocabulary, no grammar and not a paragraph indeed printed or written in the language. Of course they were obliged to learn the language entirely by the ear—to collect the articulate sounds—to fix upon signs or letters to express those sounds and thus proceed from step to step to reduce a barbarous tongue to a written language. Those who have never been called to such a task can probably form little conception of its difficulty. It is a toilsome work to be obliged to substitute any foreign language for one's mother tongue, and most of all an unwritten language and one wretchedly deficient in terms to express the ideas of an intelligent and religious mind. It was a toilsome work indeed—a work not of months only but of years. And those were long years to the missionaries, for they were panting to engage in the direct work of proclaiming the news of salvation to the multitudes of heathen whom they saw rapidly dying about them in all their ignorance and sin.

During this period of acquiring the Hawaiian tongue some efforts were made to collect some few scholars at the different stations, and to give them instruction in the English language. Some success attended these efforts, but for various reasons they were not long continued. One reason was that females of the schools, when a little improved in manner and dress and taught a little English, were beset by a certain class of foreigners with temptations and allurements which in not a few instances proved successful and ruinous. But more especially was this class of schools discontinued on account of the necessity, which was continually becoming more and more urgent, to give the whole at-

tention to the native tongue and to efforts of a general kind among the multitude. At that period there were too few laborers in a field so open and wide to admit of giving the care, time and strength which schools of a select character necessarily require.

The missionaries turned all their strength, application and energies to the acquisition of the native tongue, and to the work of communicating thought through that medium. It was well they did so. The difficulty of the task required all their strength, and the thousands perishing for lack of knowledge made it very evident that that was the work which needed first to be done.

But the difficulty of communicating with the people did not vanish on the mere acquisition of the language. The missionaries soon found that there was another obstacle—an obstacle lying much deeper than a simple unacquaintance on their part with native terms of speech. The islanders call it “dark-heartedness.” It was indeed an ignorance that amounted to darkness. The night too had been long—a night of centuries. Mental Chaos reigned and deep Oblivion had settled down upon all true notions of God, of holiness, of purity and of virtue. Of things pertaining to this life, as before remarked, the people knew something, but of things pertaining to God and Eternity they had willingly lost all knowledge and had imbibed instead the most absurd, low and groveling notions. This ignorance, and the notions worse than ignorance, were obstacles in the way of communicating to the people the great truths of the gospel, far more formidable and appalling than the mere task of making one’s self familiar with a foreign and barbarous tongue.

This deep ignorance led in the commencement of the mission to much misconception of the very plainest and most simple instructions that could be given. A few instances may be mentioned in illustration of this remark.

The missionaries spoke of the great Jehovah, His Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. The people conversed among themselves and concluded that Jehovah was Kane,

that Jesus Christ was Maui, and that the Holy Ghost was Kanaloa—three of their former gods.

The missionaries used the expression: “E hiki mai aua-nei ka la nui,—(the great day is approaching.) The word “la” means not only day, but also the sun; and they understood the expression to mean, “the great Sun is near at hand”—that the sun was about to increase in size and destroy the earth. The report was circulated with rapidity and the people filled with terror and dismay.

The missionaries in their prayers used such expressions as these: “We are poor and needy, we are great sinners, very guilty and deserve to be cast off forever.” The people exclaimed: “The minister is reviling us, he tells God that we are poor and mean—that we are criminals and deserve to be punished. This is nothing else but mocking us, we will not endure such abuse.” When urged to attend a religious meeting, they would inquire, “Who is expected to pray?” When told, they would reply: “We will not go to hear him, he reviles us.” So when an address or sermon was applied closely to them they would say: “The preacher is mocking us and calling us by hard names. He would have us, too, shut up in raging fire if we do not believe in his God. What a railing, cruel and revengeful man!”

Almost every expression that was not guarded with the greatest care both as to matter and manner was liable to lead to a wild interpretation and the grossest mistakes.

But their deep ignorance led not only to a misapprehension of the instructions of the missionaries, but also to a misconception and jealousy of their object. This may be mentioned as the third difficulty which the first missionaries were called to encounter. The people knew nothing from experience or observation of the benevolence of the gospel—had not the least conception of such a motive. How, then, could they believe that men came to reside among them simply for their good? For there are men, even in more enlightened lands, who, being ignorant of the motive of benevolence, cannot conceive of missions to the heathen without the imputation of sinister designs.

One of the missionaries made his first attempt to address the people. It was at a small village near Honolulu. He succeeded in assembling a little group and arose to pray. The people immediately rushed from the house and hid themselves in the forest. They connected with prayer the idea of destruction. They thought the missionary was going to pray them to death. In their idolatrous system, prayer was often sorcery, and death the result—perfectly in contrast with the prayer of the Christian.

When Mr. Bingham dug the cellar for his house, the people went to the king and said: "Your land, O king, has become the property of the foreigners. There is to be a deep pit under the house of the missionary. Men, guns, and powder will be brought in casks and deposited there. Every preparation will be made, and when you and the people shall be collected for worship then you will be slain and your kingdom taken." So thoroughly was this suspicion believed that Kalanimoku, the prime agent of government and one of the most informed and intelligent of the chiefs, commenced immediately to build a house on the opposite side of the road from Mr. Bingham's, with a large cellar underneath, that he might have it in readiness in case of any attack. He appeased the people and his own serious fears too by saying: "Mr. Bingham's cellar is small, mine is large and will contain more men and more guns than his." This suspicion and this precautionary movement of Kalanimoku were not known to the missionaries at the time, but are facts that are now frequently referred to by the chiefs and people to illustrate the strange notions which they at that period entertained respecting the designs of their teachers.

As the people stood at the doors and windows of the houses of the missionaries and gazed at them imploring the blessing of God over their food, they wildly whispered one to another: "E aha la ka poe haole i moe iho la na maka," (what are these foreigners doing with their eyes downward?) Some replied, "E anaana ana ia kakou"—(they are praying us to death.)

These instances I mention merely as specimens of many others of a like kind.

These jealousies gradually wore away and became less and less strong and were less frequently exhibited. But they have not entirely ceased even at the present time. It is not long since some instances occurred of the very wildest kind. A few years since it was confidently asserted by the more ignorant class of people that the wine used at the Lord's Supper was the blood of human victims procured by assassination and that from thence it received its efficacy and virtue.

When the house of worship was finished at Lahaina, not the present stone house, but the thatched house previously used, a panic ran through the village and region round about from a report which many believed that human victims were needed in consecrating the house—that one must be buried under each door and one under each window and several under the pulpit to communicate the requisite “mana”—sacredness or virtue. This idea was gathered naturally from their manner of consecrating ancient heathen temples.

A similar panic or fear of the “Mu,” as they term it, occurred at Hilo while I was residing there. It prevented many of the people for a length of time from coming to the house of worship.

One of the first things which impressed the people favorably in regard to the missionaries was the union which prevailed among them. The expression was very common and became a proverb: “Hookahi no ano o ka na misionari hana ana aole ku e kekahi i kekahi”—(the missionaries have but one aim in all that they do—there is no division among them.) Then they noticed that the missionaries were industrious, toiling night and day with no ostensible object but to confer blessings upon others. They especially remarked the meek and unvengeful character of the missionaries when provoked by enemies. A certain foreigner treated one of the missionaries with gross insult and abuse, but the missionary took no notice of his conduct. The foreigner was weak and staggering from intoxication. The crowd that was

looking on observed: "This man is weak—the missionary could easily punish him, but shows no disposition to be revenged." Others said: "The word of God is verified which speaks of meekness and forgiveness, for this drunken man insults the teacher, but he does not resent it." Instances of this kind had great influence.

Even the heathen have their eyes open to the conduct of ministers, and are nice judges of consistency. And there is no jealousy that cannot be lived down by a uniform and Christian deportment.

Another serious difficulty or trial which the first missionaries were obliged to meet and which called forth all their patience, forbearance, meekness and discretion was that of regulating a friendly and yet a proper intercourse with beings so debased, shameless, vicious and beastly as the islanders then were. They were indeed, so far as crime, degradation and vicious habits were concerned, in a state of absolute heathenism. The abolition of idolatry had taken place from no good motive and no influence of a really salutary kind had ever been exerted upon them. Situated as a missionary family then was, in a low thatched hut of one room, and obliged to have that one room, which was parlor, dining-room, bedroom and pantry, crowded often with filthy natives of no manners and no morals and almost in a state of nudity, and under such circumstances to bestow such friendly attentions as to allay jealousy and to gain a listening ear to the truths of the gospel, required indeed a great share of patience and a deep love for souls. To preserve, for a series of years, in such a situation, refined feelings and a refined and dignified deportment, and especially to guard one's children from all wrong influence, improper notions and evil habits, was a task which required uncommon discretion and a trial which none can appreciate but those who were called to endure it. Missionaries recently arrived at these islands can form but little notion of the state of things which then existed.

Other first difficulties might be separately noticed, but perhaps it may be well to leave what remain to suggest them-

selves incidentally as we proceed with events in the natural order of narration.

On the first Monday in January, 1822, nineteen months from the commencement of the mission, the art of printing was introduced into the islands. The sheet printed was the first eight pages of a Hawaiian spelling book. The number of copies was five hundred.

Keeaumoku, one of the highest chiefs, assisted in taking a few of the first impressions.

About six months afterward the second sheet of eight pages was struck off. During the delay much pains was taken in settling the best mode of orthography.

The Hawaiian language contains but twelve articulate sounds that are acknowledged by all to be obvious and distinct, and the missionaries introduced but twelve letters—*a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p, w*. There are different shades of sound that might have admitted of more letters, but the missionaries thought best, on the whole, to introduce but twelve. “*A*” is sounded when long as “*a*” in “*father*,” when short as “*a*” in “*handy*” and sometimes approaching to “*u*” in “*hum* ;” “*e*” when long as “*a*” in “*hate*,” when short as “*e*” in “*hen* ;” “*i*” when long as “*ee*” in “*feet*” or as “*i*” in “*pique*,” when short as “*i*” in “*hill* ;” “*o*” when long as “*o*” in “*pole*,” when short as “*o*” in “*hop* ;” “*u*” as “*oo*” in “*boot* ;” *h, k, l, m, n, p, and w*, nearly as in English, excepting that the sound of “*k*” sometimes becomes that of “*t*” and the sound of “*l*” is often confounded with those of “*r*” and “*d*.” But it is not in place to enter upon this subject here, it being irrelevant to a historical work, except so far as to furnish a clue to the reader for the pronunciation of Hawaiian names.

The missionaries adopted also the simple method of avoiding all arbitrary spelling. Every word is spelled precisely as it is pronounced, so that to teach spelling is scarcely an object. Every one who can combine two letters in a syllable and put two syllables together can both read and spell with readiness. The art of reading, therefore, is very easily acquired. I think I am safe in saying that the children of

Hawaii learn to read their language in a much shorter time than our children do the English. This is an immense advantage, as it unlocks in a measure the rich volume of God's word.

The people were amazed at the art of expressing thoughts on paper. They started back from it with dread, as though it were a sort of enchantment or sorcery. A certain captain said to Kamehameha, "I can put Kamehameha on a slate," and proceeded to write the word Kamehameha. The chief scornfully replied, "That is not me—not Kamehameha." The captain then said: "By marks on this slate I can tell my mate, who is at a distance, to send me his handkerchief," and proceeded to write the order. Kamehameha gave the slate to a servant, who carried it to the mate and brought the handkerchief. Kamehameha then took the two—the slate and the handkerchief. He looked at the writing and at the handkerchief—they did not look alike. He felt of the two—they did not feel alike. And what connection there could be between the one and the other he could not imagine. With this ignorance, it is not strange that the people formed very wild conceptions of the power of letters. They even imagined that letters could speak. Every article of clothing that had a name upon it was for a time safe; no one would steal it—for there were letters there, and they did not know but they might tell the owner where it was.

They also believed for a time, and the belief was a great stimulus to learn to write, that a wish for money, clothing or any property expressed on paper and handed or sent to a foreigner would be certainly and in all cases successful—that the paper would be regarded the same as money—that it possessed a kind of charm to procure whatever was expressed upon it. A few trials convinced them of their error, and many who had been industriously toiling from avaricious motives to learn to write were much chagrined and disappointed.

The amazement at the art of writing is common to all barbarous nations. I find in the work of Mr. Williams a striking illustration. When he was erecting a chapel at

Roratonga, he came to the work one morning without his square. He took a chip, and with a piece of charcoal wrote upon it a request that Mrs. Williams would send him that article. He called a chief, and said to him, "Friend, take this, go to our house and give it to Mrs. Williams." "Take that!" he replied, "she will call me a fool, and scold me if I carry a chip to her; and if I carry it, what must I say?" "You have nothing to say," replied Mr. Williams, "the chip will say all I wish." "How can this speak?" replied the chief, "has this a mouth?" He carried it, however, gave it to Mrs. Williams, and she handed him the article written for. "Stay, daughter," said the chief, "how do you know that this is what Mr. Williams wants?" "Why," she replied, "did you not bring me a chip just now?" "Yes," said the astonished warrior, "but I did not hear it say anything." "But I did," replied Mrs. Williams, and upon this the chief leaped out of the house, and catching up the mysterious piece of wood, ran through the settlement with the chip in one hand and the square in the other, holding them as high as his arms could reach and shouting as he went: "See the wisdom of these English people; they can make chips talk; they can make chips talk!"

I relate these anecdotes because I know not how I can better impress upon you the important fact that the people were utterly ignorant of the art of writing and of reading, and that the introduction of writing, and especially of printing, was an interesting era in the nation.

The spring following the introduction of printing at the islands, a very considerable accession of strength was received at the mission. When the Rev. Daniel Tyreman and George Bennet, Esq., were at the Society Islands as a deputation of the London Missionary Society, they were desirous to go with the Rev. William Ellis and several native converts to the Marquesas Islands to establish a mission on that barbarous group. An English vessel offered them a passage by way of the Sandwich Islands. The offer was accepted, and on the 16th of April, 1822, they entered the harbor of Honolulu. They arrived at these islands at an interesting

time—just two years after the commencement of the mission, when jealousy had in a good measure worn away, when confidence began to be reposed in the missionaries both by the chiefs and people, and when the door of usefulness had become wide, open, and effectual. They were joyfully received. In the mean time the ship-master who brought them had altered the plan of his voyage, and they knew not when they could reach the Marquesas Islands. It is needless to say that, under the circumstances, Mr. Ellis and the native assistants with him were urged at once both by the resident missionaries and by the chiefs to relinquish their plan of proceeding further, and to become laborers in this field so wide and white for the harvest. Mr. Ellis gave his assent, returned to the Society Islands for his wife, and then, early in February, 1823, entered joyfully into the labors of the American missionaries here, with whom he continued to co-operate with much harmony and love till compelled by the severe illness of Mrs. Ellis to take final leave of the islands in the fall of 1824. He was able to labor efficiently in the field with but little delay, the language of the Society Islands, with which he had become acquainted, being very similar to that of this group, and the manners, customs and notions of the people being very much the same. The native converts also who came with him were valuable assistants.

The first Christian marriage on the Islands was that of Thomas Hopu and occurred on the 11th of August, 1822, two years and four months from the commencement of the mission.

April 27th, 1823, the first reinforcement to the mission entered the harbor and were joyfully welcomed. The dark days began to fly apace, and those more cheerful and pleasant began to dawn.

With the introduction of printing which has been noticed schools were commenced, and especially after the accession of strength just named quite a number of schools were organized, and many of the chiefs and people soon learned to read. In September of that year, 1823, several hundred per-

sons are reported as having made some progress in learning to read.

About this time Christian instruction began to be communicated to much better advantage than formerly. The missionaries began to discourse with the people without interpreters, Mr. Ellis could preach readily in the Hawaiian tongue, and the native assistants from the Society Islands found themselves able to exhort, pray and teach with but little delay. Mr. Ellis changed a few hymns from the Tahitian dialect to the Hawaiian and introduced them in public worship. The natives were very much pleased with the exercise of singing and it will be seen that for some time afterwards the preparation of hymns occupied a prominent place in the mission. For several years, indeed, successive editions of hymns were called for and constituted a very large share of all the printing done at the islands. A fact this, which seems to intimate that the introduction of sacred music, even among the most unrefined and barbarous nations, is of great practical importance, and a kind of instrumentality quite efficient and successful.

Meetings began to be more frequently requested than formerly and some desire began to be manifested to hear of the great salvation.

The missionaries had been obliged heretofore to confine their labors almost entirely to Honolulu, on Oahu, and to Waimea, on Kauai. Honolulu was the center of operations, being the principal harbor for shipping, the residence of foreign traders, and more than any other place at that time the residence of the king and chiefs. At Waimea, on Kauai, a station was permanently held, the missionaries there being encouraged by the friendly attentions and generous conduct of Kaumualii, the governing chief of that island. The station taken at Kailua, on Hawaii, on the first landing of the missionaries in April, 1820, was held till December of that year and then left vacant. It was not thought advisable in the then feeble state of the mission to attempt to maintain a station so distant and lonely. It cannot be said therefore that Hawaii, Maui, or any of the islands windward from

Oahu enjoyed any missionary labors to account of till 1823. That year, a reinforcement having arrived from America, and Mr. Ellis from the Society Islands, efforts were immediately made to extend their labors to the large windward islands that have been named. Previously to reoccupying or taking permanent stations on Hawaii, it was deemed advisable that Mr. Ellis, together with three of the American missionaries, Messrs. Thurston, Bishop and Goodrich, should visit and explore that important island. Accordingly the months of July and August were occupied in making a tour completely around the island to ascertain the state and disposition of the people and the most eligible posts for missionary stations. The tour afforded an excellent opportunity to learn the manners, customs, moral state, religious opinions and various traditionary accounts of the Hawaiians; to ascertain the geographical features and natural resources of the island; to examine its curiosities, such as the immense volcano of Kilauea and the summit of Mauna Kea, so as to give an intelligent and graphic description of them to the world, to show to the natives that there was no reason to fear "Pele," that long dreaded god of earthquakes and eruptions; and above all, it afforded facilities of much social intercourse with the people, of conciliating their affections, of gaining their confidence, and of making known to them to some extent by familiar conversation and by more publicly preaching the great and precious truths of the gospel. The various information gained by the tour, and the important advantages it secured have been embodied and given to the world by Mr. Ellis in his "Tour Around Hawaii."

Soon after the completion of the tour, in the month of November, 1823, the station of Kailua was resumed, and the year following, two other stations were taken on Hawaii, that of Kaawaloa, now removed a little and called Kealakekua, the place of Capt. Cook's death, and that of Hilo, on the opposite side of the island.

In the meantime, May 31st, 1823, the station of Lahaina was taken on the island of Maui, under the protecting care and encouraging attentions of Keopuolani, the mother of

the king. She was the highest chief by blood on the islands and had ever been distinguished for a disposition peculiarly mild and amiable. She earnestly requested missionaries to go to Lahaina, accompanied them in person, and interested herself as a mother in seeing them comfortably located and furnished with facilities of prosecuting their work. She exerted also her unbounded influence with the people to respect the teachers and listen to their instructions.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the time when the first true conversions to God took place at the Sandwich Islands. An adult, uneducated mind, just emerging from the total darkness of heathenism may be, I apprehend, essentially renewed by the Spirit, and yet remain entangled and almost bewildered by former foolish notions and perverse habits. How far true religion in a heathen thus emerging, can co-exist with frailty, foolishness, instability, waywardness and much darkness of mind and heart, it is impossible to judge.

The chief Keeaumoku is mentioned perhaps more frequently by the first missionaries than any other person, as seeking their society and as manifesting a desire to receive Christian instruction. He had acquired, from his intercourse with foreigners, some little knowledge of the English language. The missionaries, therefore, before they had acquired the Hawaiian tongue, naturally went to him more than to others, and made frequent efforts to make known to him in broken English the great truths of the gospel. He was moreover a more thoughtful chief than many others. Long before light dawned upon the islands, he manifested some reflection on religious subjects. After a war at Waimea in which there was great slaughter of the enemy, he said to Hoapili, who commanded the expedition: "Let us bury the dead bodies—there is a God above." Hoapili inquired: "What do you say?" He repeated, "Let us bury the dead bodies—there is a God above, and it is not right to abuse the bodies that He has created." But, though Keeaumoku was thoughtful, and listened often with attention to the missionaries, it is not

thought by those who were best acquainted with his private character that he gave evidence of true conversion.

The first individual baptized at the Islands was Keopuolani the friend and patron, already mentioned, of the missionaries at Lahaina. She was the mother of the king, and a chief by blood of the highest rank. Whilst at Honolulu, before the station of Lahaina was taken, she had manifested particular attention to Christian instruction. She took deep interest in having a station taken on Maui, and came in person with the missionaries designated to this island. She placed great confidence in her teachers, listened to their instructions and sought their comfort. She united her efforts also in various ways to promote the object of their mission. She made frequent and interesting inquiries respecting the future state and the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, and expressed many fears lest she should not learn enough of the new way to reach heaven. She was not spared to give that mature evidence of true conversion, which would have been pleasing, nor to afford that continued assistance in promoting the cause of Christ in the islands, which had been ardently hoped. A few months only was she spared, and then she sickened and died. On her dying couch she requested baptism, which was not withheld.

Formerly on the death of such a chief, a scene of universal licentiousness and pillage, of the most horrid practices and untold abominations would have succeeded. But Keopuolani had enjoined that no heathen customs should follow her death or attend her funeral; and her injunction was in a good measure obeyed. There were indeed frightful wailings and various exhibitions of savage mourning, but nothing like the customary scene of frantic, hideous and beastly acts, and of lawless depredation. The end of such scenes received its date at the death of Keopuolani. She was the first chief whose death was attended with becoming order, and whose body was deposited with silent respect and Christian solemnities. Stillness reigned at the funeral and a procession was maintained of perfect order. O! what an immeasurable contrast to the nightly dissecting, frightful howl-

ing, self-tortures and unbounded licentiousness of former times.

There is much reason to hope that Keopuolani was truly converted. Intelligent natives who were intimately acquainted with her private character are of that opinion. Yet she enjoyed but little light and was by no means reformed in all her habits. A few nights previous to her death, being opposed by other chiefs in settling the inheritance of her children, she took copious draughts of ardent spirits to strengthen herself, as she said, in the contention.

But it must be remembered that total abstinence was a principle but little advocated at that time. Moderate drinking, as it was called, was allowed, and she, formerly a drunkard, in a time of excitement, drank immoderately. The act therefore does not prove that she was not a Christian.

After Keopuolani, in the month of July, 1825, two other individuals were admitted to the church at Lahaina, one of whom was a poor blind man, who, at his baptism, took the name of Bartimeus,—an illustration of the fact that God is no respecter of persons—that he often chooses the poor and despised. When an infant, his mother, according to a prevalent practice, attempted to bury him alive, but he was rescued by a relative. After his conversion he soon showed that, though blind, he was spared to be a man of extensive usefulness. He possesses an uncommon memory, a strong and discriminating mind, deep piety, and much practical wisdom. There is scarcely a sermon he has heard, however remote the time, but he remembers the text and the leading thoughts. He assisted me at Hilo, as a fellow-laborer, for three years. He is employed much in exhorting the people from village to village. He finds his way to the place of meeting and to his seat before the assembly, and then he arises to speak. He possesses much native eloquence. And I have often sat in breathless silence as I have gazed at the big tears rolling from his sightless eye-balls, witnessed the earnestness of his action, and heard him, in the fullness of his soul, tell of a Savior's love, and exhort sinners to repentance. If my readers could but see him with their own eyes

and hear him with their own ears, then should they have, in one instance at least, a practical exhibition of what the gospel can effect.

A young man named John Ii came into notice about this time, though his union with the church was not so early. He has been attached to the king as an attendant and counsellor, and is now guardian of the young chiefs. Every allurements and every threat were used, in times past, to cause him to renounce Christianity, but the grace of God enabled him to stand.

I might mention other interesting instances, the aged Kamakau, of Kaawaloa, Kapiolani, of the same place, Davida Malo, of Lahaina, and so on continue to add, and form a considerable catalogue of worthies who began to manifest their character about this time. It was thought prudent, however, by the missionaries to be slow in admitting members to the church.

In the midst of this incipient success, one of the greatest difficulties with which the missionaries were called to contend was the conduct of the king, Liholiho. He was reckless, profligate, and intemperate.

He was naturally daring, and when partially intoxicated was ready for any adventure. He evinced this disposition on the abolition of idolatry, and he showed the same trait of character on several occasions. A trip to Kauai in an open boat and in a defenseless state was one of those occasions.

Being out a little way from Honolulu one day in a boat with two chiefs, Boki and Naihe, and with about thirty men and two women, he commanded his boatman to steer for Kauai. All were afraid and all remonstrated, but in vain. They were without water, provisions, compass, chart, or mariner, embarked in a small open sail boat, built by a native of the islands, and crowded to overflowing. In this condition they were commanded to head out amid the boisterous waves and steer for an island nearly one hundred miles distant. The boatman hesitated, for he knew not the precise direction of Kauai; but the half-intoxicated king, spreading

out his hand in imitation of a compass and pointing to his second finger said: "Here is your point of compass—steer by this." When the boat was twice nearly capsized and ready to fill with water, the chiefs and company said: "We must go back." But the king said decidedly, "No—bail out the water and go on. If you return with the boat I will swim to Kauai." They proceeded with much peril and were fortunate enough to make the island and to land in safety. But they had come in a perfectly defenseless state and to an island of friends perhaps, and perhaps of enemies. There had been many suspicions and some hints to the king that Kaumualii, chief of Kauai, did not own subjection. But that chief had learned something of the spirit of the Gospel of peace. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the king, instead of taking advantage of his helpless situation, he went out in a canoe, gave him a cordial reception and took every pains to entertain him with honor. He did more than this. To prevent all suspicions which had existed he made a formal surrender of his island, his vessels and all his property to Liholiho. Liholiho in return generously confirmed him in his office as governor and in the possession of all his property.

On the return of Liholiho to Honolulu, Kaumualii accompanied him, and soon after, his former wife being discarded for unfaithfulness, united himself in marriage to Kaahumanu. It has been said that he was torn away from his wife and his island and for political reasons compelled to reside on Oahu, and to unite himself in marriage to another person. But those natives in the best circumstances to know affirm that his residence on Oahu and his union with Kaahumanu were entirely matters of choice.

Liholiho, on his return from Kauai, continued his course of dissipation. He gave himself up to his pleasures and his passions.

To obtain rum, gaudy dress and other gratifications for himself, wives and favorites, he heedlessly involved the nation in a debt from which it has never been relieved. He practiced also great extortions upon his people, particularly

in collecting sandal wood to pay his debts. The people, men, women and children, were obliged to live in the mountains for months in succession without anything like comfortable shelter, with but little clothing and exposed to a climate rainy and cold. In this exposed situation many of the poor people died, as the numerous graves at the places of their encampment clearly indicate.

Notwithstanding this reckless and dissipated character, he paid an external respect to the missionaries. He attended school for a short time, and made some efforts at reading. When reproved for his vices, he showed no resentment. The missionaries used every means to reform him, even taking from him the supplies of rum that he had purchased as a parent would from a dissipated son. Once a missionary visited him, and, after much entreaty, Liholiho made the following promise: "Elima o'u makahiki i koe, alaila huli au i kanaka maikai," (five years more, and then I will become a good man.) Alas, little did he think that a much shorter space than that would find him at the bar of God. This expression of his is on the lips of all the people as a warning against procrastination.

Christianity was retarded by his reckless career and the nation on the verge of utter ruin, when God, Who so remarkably prepared the way for the introduction of the gospel, appeared again in His wonder-working providence and wrought relief.

Liholiho imbibed the notion of visiting Great Britain. What were distinctly his motives in going is not known. It is most probable that he had no distinct motive, but went rather from a state of restlessness. He was naturally roaming in his disposition and ready for any new enterprise. But the hand of God was in the movement. He embarked with some of his guardians, wives and favorites—twelve in number. His favorite wife, as she left the shore, broke forth into wailing, characteristic of the people: "E ka lani, e ka honua, e ka mauna, e ka moana, e kahu, e ka makaainana, aloha oukou; e ka lepo e, aloha oe; e ka mea a kuu makuakane i eha ai, auwe oe," (O heavens, earth, mountains, ocean, guardians, sub-

jects, love to you all. O land for which my father bled, receive the assurance of my earnest love.) The chiefs used every argument to dissuade him from his course, but he remained immovable. He embarked in the *L'Aigle*, Captain Starbuck, November 27, 1823. It is worthy of remark that almost the last words of Liholiho before embarking were distinct and positive orders to his chiefs and people to listen to the instructions of the missionaries, and make constant exertions in learning to read, write and cipher till he should return. We can scarcely account for such orders from such a person at such a time without recognizing a special providence. After his departure his subjects remembered these words of his, often repeated them, and acted in a good measure in accordance with them. His embarkation was a new enterprise for a chief to engage in and the people attended with great interest and amazement.

The crowd stood on the beach filling the air with their wailings and following the ship with their eyes as it slowly receded from their view. When its masts disappeared beyond the billows that was the last they saw of Liholiho till his lifeless body and that of his wife were brought back to their shores. Only a few of the company who sailed with him lived to return.

They arrived in London in May, 1824, received some attention from statesmen, and were taken to places of pleasure and amusement, but saw little or nothing of religious men. It is to be regretted that Mr. Ellis could not have sailed with Liholiho, or at least have been in England at the time of his visit. In a few weeks the king and his queen were taken sick with measles and lung fever, as it is reported, and the diseases being aggravated by an unaccustomed climate, a new mode of life and irregular habits, proved fatal. The queen died early in July and the king a few days afterwards. The British government sent a frigate under command of Lord Byron, brother of the poet, to convey their bodies to their native islands.

It is melancholy to record the death of the young Liholiho, even though in his death we see the deliverance of a

sinking nation. Without his reformation or his death the ruin of the nation seemed inevitable. It is a fearful thing for kings, rulers, or men of influence, to resist warnings and perseveringly stand in the way of a country's salvation when that salvation is a subject of prayer among God's people.

When Liholiho sailed for England the government was left in the hands of Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha. She was his Premier by the appointment of Kamehameha, and it naturally fell to her lot on his departure to act as Queen Regent. Kalanimoku also possessed great authority and influence. Kaahumanu, though a proud and haughty woman, possessed many qualifications well adapted to the trying emergency. Her decision, energy and strength of mind not only held her own subjects in perfect subjection, but successfully withstood many ill-minded designs of foreigners. She succeeded in extracting the nation from many perplexities in which Liholiho had involved it. But, though of great service to the nation, Kaahumanu for some time stood entirely aloof from the influences of religion. She was haughty, proud and disdainful in the presence of the missionaries. She looked down upon them with contempt. If a missionary passed her and offered his hand she would turn away her eyes and simply reach out to him her little finger. She was tyrannical and cruel in her domestic relations. Many a head had been severed at her peremptory order.

But no heart is too proud or too obdurate for the all-conquering grace of God. This same haughty and disdainful Kaahumanu was soon brought to the feet of Jesus. Her conversion was the more cheering, as it took place soon after the gloomy event of the war on Kauai, an item of history which should here be recorded.

Kaumualii, the principal chief of Kauai and husband of Kaahumanu, died in May, 1824, and a dispute arose about the division of territory which led to an unhappy and bloody contest—the first and last battle since the introduction of Christianity. The features of character exhibited in this war were, as might be supposed, partly heathen and partly

Christian, and it therefore may be interesting to be somewhat minute in the narration.

After the death of Kaumualii, already noticed, the government of the island was inconsiderately given by a council of the chiefs, to Kahalia, nephew of Kalanimoku, a young man, and one poorly fitted for such a trust. On his arrival at Kauai the people immediately manifested their displeasure and insubordination by various acts, particularly by the wanton destruction of public property. Two weeks afterward, Kalanimoku visited Kauai, partly on account of a vessel of his which had run aground at Hanalei on that island, and partly on account of the troubles which he heard to be existing there. He was accompanied by Kekauluohi the present Premier of government. They anchored and went ashore at Hanalei and remained there one or two days. Arrangements were made by some of the rebels to seize upon them by surprise in the night and to take their lives. The scheme was laid and the night appointed for the assassination, but it so happened that the day previous to the meditated attack Kalanimoku and company left Hanalei for Waimea, the chief town of the island. There the chiefs assembled the people to settle, if possible, the affairs of the island. Kalanimoku said: "Where are you, chiefs, soldiers and people. Kaumualii is dead and this is the will which he left, 'that he that was rich before his death should continue to be rich, and he that was poor should continue to be poor—that there should be no change; and that my nephew should be governor in his stead.' "

To this sentiment strong objections were made by certain chiefs of Kauai, particularly by Kiaimakani and Kiaimoku. They urged a new division of lands and of property. The point was contested with much obstinacy and could not be adjusted.

In the meantime the insurgents had gained over to their side Humehume (George Kaumualii), who, it will be remembered, spent some time at the Cornwall school in America and returned to his father with the pioneers of the mission. They promised to bestow upon him the government

if he would aid their cause. They very ignorantly placed much dependance upon him, for he had two brass field pieces, pretended to skill in fire arms, and had large fierce dogs which were a terror to the natives. He was a self-conceited and presumptuous youth and yielded to their suggestions.

The night after the unsuccessful consultation, August 8th, 1824, an attempt was made by the rebels to take possession of the fort. It failed after a hard contest, in which a number of their own company were killed. Their bodies before the morning were devoured by swine.

The next day, which was the Sabbath, Kalanimoku despatched a vessel to Oahu for help. The missionaries on Kauai thought it duty to improve the opportunity and embark for Honolulu. There was already too much confusion and tumult on the island to allow of their remaining with safety. On the vessel on which they took passage was chained a hostile chief, who had been taken captive the night before. There he was seen at the close of day and in the morning he was not. He had been stabbed in the night and thrown into the midst of the channel. The vessel had an unusually quick passage and arrived at Honolulu the next day. The intelligence was given: "There is war on Kauai; Kalanimoku and Auhea have barely escaped with their lives and are still in jeopardy; let soldiers be armed and embark without delay." This notice being given, the vessel tarried not, but proceeded on to Maui, where the principal chiefs were at the time. It arrived with a flag of distress and the captain sprang on shore, saying: "There is war on Kauai; I have come for men." Hoapili, the governor of Maui, made all possible despatch in collecting soldiers and was soon ready to sail. Just before embarking he sent David Malo, his native teacher, to make inquiries of Mr. Richards, the missionary of the place, to learn his opinion of the war and to obtain his advice. Mr. Richards replied that they might proceed with confidence and courage—that a just God would give them the victory since the blame was evidently on the side of the enemy. He then gave advice and instructions in

regard to conducting the war—that no persons except those evidently opposing, or in arms, should be attacked; that the weak and defenseless, such as aged persons, women and children, ought by no means to be injured or molested; that quarter should be given to the enemy when asked, and that captives should be treated with mercy.

Hoapili sailed with two vessels crowded with soldiers and touched at Oahu. Here he sent to the missionaries again to ask advice and received the same counsel that had already been given him by Mr. Richards. Mr. Loomis, in particular, was very explicit. He went on board the vessels and endeavored to impress more strongly upon Hoapili and others the proper mode of conducting a battle—that there should be no unnecessary destruction, and that captives should be treated with mercy.

On arriving at Kauai, Kalanimoku offered to take the post of danger, that of leading the forces to battle, and to excuse Hoapili from all peril. But Hoapili refused and insisted upon discharging that duty in his own person, whilst Kalanimoku should remain at home to protect the females and the children.

Every night previous to the engagement and whilst marching to the place of conflict, Hoapili spent much time in gazing at the stars that he might ascertain the fate of the impending struggle. One is at a loss to know on what he placed most dependence, on the justness of his cause and the assistance of the true God, or on the absurd notions of astrology. His views were evidently partly Christian and partly heathen.

On the march the Sabbath day occurred. Though in perilous circumstances, Hoapili gave orders that the day should be strictly observed. They remained where they were and rested through the day.

When the forces were all drawn up in battle array in front of the enemy Hoapili commanded silence till a prayer should be offered to the true God. Search was made for one who knew enough to pray, and at length a Society Is-

lander was found who knew enough of the true religion to offer a prayer.

After the prayer, Hoapili addressed his soldiers in something like the following words: "Soldiers, attend! There is for us no place of retreat,—no Oahu, no Maui, no Hawaii. Oahu is before us, Maui is before us, Hawaii is before us—those islands will remain to us only as we press forward and conquer. If we turn our backs it is death. If some shall fall, mind not their dead bodies, but press onward. Be of good courage for God is on our side. As He aided the Israelites, so also will He aid us and give us victory. If captives are taken, deal mercifully with them,—such is the advice of our teachers. If balls whiz by you they are not a cause of fear, but if bayonets are thrust at your breasts then there may be some cause for firmness and courage. Forward, forward, even unto death."

This speech being ended, they rushed to the battle, marching directly in the face of the two brass field pieces of the enemy. Those two guns, if they had been skillfully used, would have mowed down and dispersed at once the whole advancing multitude. But no one had skill to aim them so as to do any execution. Every shot passed over head. Hoapili and his soldiers marched up unhurt, foolishly prostrating themselves at every shot to dodge the balls after they had passed over. They surrounded the cannon at once and took them from the enemy. The enemy were panic struck and confounded at the little execution of their guns, and after a little resistance turned their backs and fled. Only one man was killed in the engagement and that man from the forces of Hoapili. The enemy fled to the woods and to the mountains without any order and were pursued with the same confusion and disorder. Hoapili had no longer control of his army and many excesses were committed. In the pursuit many of the enemy were killed, and, with the exception of a few instances, no quarter was given, no mercy shown to captives, and no regard paid to the weak and defenseless. The unarmed, the aged, women and little children were slain indiscriminately. The fugitives were dragged from their lurk-

ing places and deliberately shot or beaten to death in cold blood. This work of destruction continued for many days. The bodies of the slain were left unburied to be devoured by dogs and swine.

Captives were treated with great cruelty. One instance may illustrate many. A captive was compelled to carry his conqueror with an additional heavy burden up a very steep and high hill. Just before he reached the summit of the hill his strength failed and he eased down his burden for a moment to take breath. For this offence his conqueror deliberately pointed his gun to his breast and shot him dead. The reiterated instructions of the missionaries seem to have been entirely forgotten in the excitement of victory, and heathen practices alone prevailed.

The unhappy Humehume (George Kaumualii) wandered for weeks in the woods, subsisting upon roots, till at length, nearly famished and naked, he delivered himself up to one of the victorious chiefs, who showed him mercy.

After the war, a full council of the chiefs was called and the government of Kauai committed to Kaikioewa, the immediate guardian of the young king. All engaged in the rebellion who remained alive were distributed on other islands of the group. And from that time down peace and quietness have prevailed.

It is worthy of remark that in the overruling providence of God this distressing war was made productive of good. It led to the destruction of a heathen party, which had been for some time strengthening itself and uttering threats against the teachers of Christianity. And it led also to the removal of a young and dissipated governor whose views and feelings were evidently inimical to the restraints of true religion. The eyes of the council were opened and they substituted in his stead a chief of more age and experience and one favorably disposed to the claims of the gospel. The wrath of man was made subservient to the cause of Christ.

The bloody scenes of this war were calculated to fill the minds of the missionaries with gloom and dejection and it was therefore peculiarly grateful and cheering that, soon

after this event, Kaahumanu, the ruling chief of the nation, was hopefully brought to the feet of Jesus.

After her conversion she became as warm in her affections for the missionaries as she was before cold and contemptuous. And in the administration of the government she united her former firmness and energy of character with a real desire to promote the good of her subjects. She made thorough work of being a Christian and a Christian ruler.

One of the first intimations of a change of disposition in Kaahumanu was gathered from a letter written by her from Kauai, the scene of the war, in which she expressed a strong desire for the reformation of her people and for their eternal salvation. For six months previous, or since the sailing of Liholiho to England, a gradual advance had been made by the chiefs, as a body, in correcting the morals of the people, and in leading them to attend to schools and to the oral instructions of the missionaries. The example of a dissipated king was no longer before them, but instead of it a parting injunction from him that they should attend to the instructions of the missionaries till his return. Many of the chiefs had taken advantage of his advice, those at least who were seriously disposed, such as Kalanimoku, Kaumualii, Piia and others. Proclamations had been made on the different islands, prohibiting several gross immoralities, enjoining the observance of the Christian Sabbath and encouraging the people to learn to read and to listen to instruction. Some houses of worship and a few school-houses had been erected by their order. And in April, a month before the war, the principal chiefs had called a meeting of the people of Oahu to proclaim in a formal manner their united resolution to receive instruction themselves, to observe the Sabbath, worship God, obey His law and to promote true knowledge among the people.

Kaahumanu, it seems, concurred in this resolution, though nothing was observed in her deportment giving evidence of a change of heart till several months afterwards. In the meantime progress had been made in printing and in prepar-

ing a class of young persons who might be able to collect schools and teach the art of reading.

In the letter of Kaahumanu already spoken of, after expressing her attachment to the Christian cause, and her great love for her people, who were dying in ignorance and sin, she proposed to take a tour of all the islands in person to prohibit immorality and to exhort her subjects to turn to God. On her arrival at Honolulu her zeal was unabated. She attended the female prayer meeting and expressed her feelings with earnestness and with tears. She was not content to be idle. The sentiment of her heart from the first, and through life, was, "Lord what wilt Thou have me to do."

She not only attended strictly to the affairs of government, but began at once the work, which she ever continued to prosecute with much zeal, of visiting every island of the group, and almost every village of each island, encouraging schools, introducing improvements, and exhorting the people to forsake their many vices and cleave to the pure religion that had been brought to their shores. She rejoiced that the precious light beamed upon her people from so many points and longed for the time when every obscure valley and deep recess of her islands should be illumined.

The conversion of Kaahumanu, of which there began to be pleasing evidence early in the year 1825, was an important era in the history of the mission. Various hindrances and discouragements were no longer felt. Many a hard struggle was over. Here we can erect an Ebenezer to the Lord—and from here onward speak, with humble gratitude, of glorious triumphs and wonderful success.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL.

Public Interest Awakened—Times of Kaahumanu—Chief's Influence—Chief's Tour of the Islands—Proclamations—Frigate Blonde—Kauikoaouli's Succession—Popularity of Religion—Foreigners' Opposition—Improved Change—Character of Seamen—Outrage of Whaleship Daniel and U. S. Schooner Dolphin—Other Riotous Acts—Honorable Conduct of Capt. Jones—Outrage of Ship John Palmer—List of Chiefs—Promotion and Conduct of Boki—Forged Letter—Boki's Wild Expedition—State of the Government—First Laws—Foreigners Opposition—Seditious Conduct of Liliha—Order Restored—Schools—Moral Societies—Number of Church Members—Character of Kaahumanu—Her Death and Funeral Solemnities.

Our narrative has brought us to an era of marked success and in view of it I cannot but allude to the thankful expression so often repeated in the 107th Psalm: "O that men would praise the Lord, for His goodness, and for His wonderful works to the children of men."

This era was connected, as was remarked, with the hopeful conversion of Kaahumanu, the Queen Regent of the islands, and her public profession of religion, which latter event took place in the year 1825. So great was the change in Kaahumanu from a haughty and stern behavior to that of mildness and love that she soon acquired among the people the appellation of "the new Kaahumanu."

It has been seen that previous to the change in Kaahumanu, a number of the subordinate chiefs and a few of the common people had given evidence of turning to the Lord. Some of this number, Kalanimoku, Piia and others, united with the church at the same time with Kaahumanu. Very soon, as might be expected, public interest was awakened. Other chiefs and the mass of the people began to consider the claims of the gospel. The tide turned rapidly in favor of Christianity and soon became a strong and broad current.

Public sentiment became entirely changed and the Christian religion was received with very great favor.

Missionaries, the pioneers and the first reinforcement, had become familiar with the language, and the press, though necessarily slow in its operations, had issued several editions of elementary lessons—a few pages only, it is true, but sufficient to teach the art of reading. A small collection of hymns had also been printed. With these facilities, meager as they were, schools began to spring up in every direction. The people attended also on the preaching of the gospel in immense crowds and frequented the houses of the missionaries from morning till night.

But these remarks I fear will be taken for more than they mean, unless I here add some explanations.

The chapter just finished, embracing the time from the introduction of Christianity to the change in Kaahumanu, from 1820 to 1825, was a division indicated by the nature of events. From her reception of the true religion in 1825 to her death in 1832, forms also a period very distinct and definitely marked by the whole aspect of affairs religious and political, and may well form the limits of the present chapter. “Things as they were in the days of Kaahumanu,” has become a current phrase, and one well understood at the islands. There was a peculiarity to those times, which leads to the use of the phrase,—a peculiarity that needs first to be understood in order to form just views of the state of things as they existed during those seven years.

A formal description of that peculiarity I shall not attempt, but only give a few remarks that may prove, perhaps, to be in some measure explanatory.

It was said, when describing the condition of the people as it was under the reign of heathenism, that a connection existed between the power of the chiefs and the observances of idol worship, analogous to that state of things which in Christian countries we denominate “union of church and state”—and such an union as existed in the palmy days of Roman hierarchy. The priests were called the priests of the king, and the temples also were called his temples. It

was his prerogative to build and to consecrate temples, to appoint priests, and to lead and direct in regard to all offerings and ceremonies. The king, in a word, was supreme, not only in affairs of government, but also in all affairs whatsoever. He was feared and venerated with superstitious awe, was regarded by all as being nearest to the gods and by not a few of the people was actually deified. These notions gave to him, of course, unbounded power,—power too over the whole man, physical, mental and moral.

This having been the state of things in the days of heathenism, we may naturally look, after the introduction of Christianity, for something of the same assumption of right and power in matters of religion on the part of the chiefs, and something of the same subjection and servility, mental and moral, on the part of the people.

Accordingly, we find, on the arrival of the missionaries, that the king, Liholiho, and the high chiefs were unwilling that the common people should be taught to read till they first should be taught themselves. We find, too, that when several of the lower chiefs and a number of the common people began to think favorably of the Christian religion they hesitated to make a public profession, thinking it out of place to do so, because the king did not take the lead and open the way by giving an example in his own person,—they “were waiting,” as they said, “for the king to turn.” And we find too that when Liholiho had sailed for Great Britain and Kaahumanu became the supreme ruler of the nation;—when she exhibited a change of heart and took an open and decided stand in favor of Christian knowledge and true piety, that the lower chiefs and the common people seemed to regard it as a matter of course that they should turn also. The Holy Spirit operates through the use of means and in the line of natural causes; and it appears that His heavenly influences were exerted, in this instance, in combination with the peculiar power and influence of chiefs to induce what may be termed a national conversion,—to turn the tide of public sentiment in favor of the Christian religion.

This national conversion of which I speak, or an external

reception of the Christian religion by the mass of the people, has become a common event in the history of the islands of this ocean, and in no book perhaps is the fact more prominently exhibited than in the interesting "Narrative of the South Sea Islands," by Mr. Williams.

But to explain still further, I remark, that the idea of moral suasion, if it existed at all in the minds of the chiefs and people, was certainly a notion very confused and indistinct. To command, to lead, to direct, on the one hand; to obey, to follow, to yield, on the other; these were the ideas that were familiar to them—ideas that had come down from time immemorial—imbibed in infancy and acted upon through life. When, therefore, Kaahumanu and other high chiefs openly espoused the cause of true religion and sought to promote that cause among the people it is not difficult to imagine the kind of influence they would naturally exert. Exhortation from them would inevitably assume more or less of the character of command, and compliance from the people would partake more or less of the nature of servile subjection or unthinking obedience.

Kaahumanu and other high chiefs made repeated tours around all the principal islands—around Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Maui and Hawaii, assembling the people from village to village and delivering addresses day after day in which they prohibited immoral acts, enjoined the observance of the Christian Sabbath, encouraged the people to learn to read, and exhorted them to turn to God and to love and obey the Savior of sinners. Mildness, affection and Christian love characterized these addresses, but from the habits and notions of the people they were inevitably regarded, more or less, as coming with power and authority. The people were not only accustomed to obey without inquiry or hesitation, but were also in the habit of complying at once with every wish or the least intimation of desire or choice on the part of the chiefs, and here was Kaahumanu and other high chiefs, such as before had been regarded with superstitious awe and even deified, expressing their desires in the strongest terms that the people should cease from all immorality, obey

the law of God, learn to read His word and embrace salvation. The effect was electrical, pervading at once every island of the group, every obscure village and district and operating with immense power on all grades and conditions of society. The chiefs gave orders to the people to erect houses of worship, to build school-houses and to learn to read,—they readily did so;—to listen to the instructions of the missionaries,—they at once came in crowds for that purpose;—to forsake sin and turn to the Lord, they put on without hesitation the forms of religion at least and exhibited an external reformation. Not that they did these things solely out of regard to the authority and wishes of the chiefs, but that that authority and those wishes had necessarily great influence and that the Holy Spirit made use of that influence to accomplish immense results. We should be deceived were we to imagine that all the reformation or change that so speedily took place in the nation was the result of deliberate conviction and enlightened choice. Such a supposition, pleasant as it might be, would not accord with the nature of things, nor with the progress of subsequent events—it would not be the truth, which is more profitable for us to know than to be gratified with a pleasing picture.

There is another idea which it may be well to keep in mind,—that there was at the islands no political constitution—no established principles of government nor any written laws. Usage was the constitution and the will of the king or of a chief was the law. This will was made known by the public addresses of the chiefs themselves, or by public criers. This continued to be the vague state of political affairs long after the introduction of Christianity—during the days of Kaahumanu and until indeed within a very few years.

Liholiho, some time previous to his embarkation for Great Britain, caused a proclamation to be made in favor of the Christian Sabbath and against various crimes and immoral acts. Subordinate chiefs on the different islands did the same. This proclamation by Liholiho was but little regarded, for he did not exhibit in it much earnestness and counteracted it indeed by the inconsistency of his example.

For the same reasons the proclamations of like kind made by other chiefs about that period had but little force.

But it was otherwise with the proclamations of Kaahumanu. She not only gave to her proclamations the force of a consistent example, but showed also that she was deeply in earnest—that it was the great purpose and constant endeavor of her life to promote what she enjoined. A great change among the people was the immediate result—very great indeed in external manners and not small, it is believed, in true reformation of heart.

Christianity was a novelty—the people were in a great measure ignorant of its humiliating doctrines and self-denying duties—the highest chiefs in the nation were its warm and zealous converts, and Christian institutions were supported by public addresses and public proclamations.

Another source of influence which was by no means inconsiderable, remains to be noticed. It was the arrival of the British frigate *Blonde*, commanded by Lord Byron, and sent to bring home the remains of the king, Liholiho, and his Queen Kamamalu. It brought also the few attendants of Liholiho who survived. It touched at Lahaina on the 5th of May, 1825. Boki and his wife, Liliha, the two persons of highest rank who survived, landed in the first boat and were received amidst a general outburst of tumultuous wailing, characteristic of the ancient manners of the people. At the suggestion of one of the missionaries that it would be well to render thanks to God, Boki immediately concurred, saying: “Where shall we pray?” Removing a little distance, prayer was offered and the tumult ceased. Two days afterwards the *Blonde* anchored at Honolulu. Lord Byron and his officers waited upon the chiefs and were received with much ceremony and respect. He presented to them valuable gifts from the king of Great Britain—a suit of the Windsor uniform to the young king, Kauikeaouli, a silver tea pot to Kaahumanu and a gold watch to Kalanimoku. The bodies of Liholiho and Kamamalu were conveyed on shore with every ceremony of respect and after suitable religious solemnities were deposited in a place prepared for them.

It was the religious influence of this event that is deserving of particular notice. At the landing of Boki and other survivors at Honolulu there was at first, as at Lahaina, a general burst of tumultuous feeling. But that same evening the crowd attended the chapel to engage in religious worship and express their gratitude to God. At the close of the meeting Boki delivered a short address. He mentioned the great respect that was shown to Christianity and to Christian ministers in Great Britain—he repeated the advice given to him whilst there to seek instruction and to honor teachers from Christian lands—and he described as well as he could the houses of worship which he saw, particularly St. Paul's Church in London. Such an address was just the thing to captivate the wondering people, and it tended very much to increase the popular tide in favor of Christianity. Day after day Boki and others who returned in the *Blonde* held the public ear. They were constantly telling what they heard and what they saw. A description of St. Paul's Church in London soon became familiar all the islands over. Boki knew nothing of the religion of Great Britain except its forms, its splendor and its show, but the Lord made use of just this knowledge to accomplish good results. Boki soon became an opposer, but not till the report he brought home had become widely circulated and had exerted much influence.

On the 6th of June, a council of the chiefs was held at Honolulu for fixing the succession in a more definite and formal manner and for regulating some affairs of government. Lord Byron was present and gave his advice on several important points. Before Liholiho sailed for England he called a council of chiefs and named Kauikeaouli, his brother, to be his successor in case he should not live to return. There could be no doubt that Kauikeaouli was the rightful successor and the chiefs in the presence of Lord Byron expressed their determination to support his claim. As he was however but a mere youth, it was decided that he should remain for a time under the instructions of the missionaries and that the government meanwhile should continue

in the hands of the regency. This peaceful manner of determining the succession was entirely new—it was one of the fruits of the gospel—the former method was by angry strife and bloody war. It is generally admitted by chiefs and people that the mere youth Kauikeaouli would never have been king had it not been for the influence of the gospel of peace. The king himself, I understand, has often admitted that he owes his kingdom to the controlling power of the true religion.

The chiefs took the opportunity at this council to ask the opinion of Lord Byron in regard to the efforts of the missionaries. The principles of the mission were explained to him and he gave his decided approbation.

Lord Byron sailed for Hilo, caused that bay to be surveyed, visited and explored the great volcano of Kilauea, returned to Honolulu, and then left the islands. His uniformly kind and honorable deportment, combined with the enthusiastic and reiterated addresses of Boki already noticed, made a deep and favorable impression on the chiefs and people in favor of the Christian religion.

The Holy Spirit, operating through such various means as I have named, caused at once a great rush to hear the word of God; and as there were then, comparatively, but few missionaries, many of the people traveled the whole of Saturday to arrive at a place of worship.

It was pleasant and amusing at sun-setting on a Saturday evening to stand and see the little companies come in one after another and from almost every point of compass. It reminded one of the Jews coming up from every tribe to their favored Jerusalem. After traversing many a field of lava, descending many a precipice and climbing many a cliff, from morning dawn till the setting of the sun, they arrive, wearied but joyful, at the place of worship. Each one can be seen as he emerges from ravine or forest with two calabashes balanced with a stick on the shoulder—one containing a change of kapas for the Sabbath and the other provisions for the journey. In this way immense congregations assembled.

And the people became eager not only to hear but also to read the word of God. Every printed sheet, as it issued from the press, was eagerly sought. Schools of some sort were soon established in almost every village throughout the whole group of islands and every youth that could read at all was sought for as a teacher. Multitudes thronged the houses of the missionaries from early dawn till the midnight hour—some sincerely inquiring the way of life, and others coming merely from the force of custom or with a desire to enter the church. It consumed a great part of the time and strength of the missionaries to act on the defensive—to keep back the people from making profession lest they should be self-deceived.

Great good and some evil resulted from this state of things. Almost all the people learned something concerning the true God and salvation through Jesus Christ; a large portion of the population learned to read and obtained portions of the Scriptures; external reformation was everywhere promoted, the people became externally religious and some souls were truly converted. At the same time there was a great temptation to formal religion, to mere deceptive profession.

The missionaries neither expected nor desired that this state of unbounded popularity should exist for a long time, but endeavored to make the best use of it while it continued.

After these general remarks I would gladly proceed to trace in detail through this interesting period the success which attended each department of labor—the preaching of the gospel, instruction in schools and the operations of the press. But it may be as well to defer these topics toward the close of the chapter and give first a narration of the more prominent events which successively took place.

And here, first, an item of history thrusts itself in, of a very unpleasant nature, but one which cannot be evaded. The moral revolution of which we have given a general account, was attended for a number of years, at least, with little or no opposition from the natives, but opposition arose—bitter and determined opposition too, from another quar-

ter—from foreigners visiting and residing at the islands. It is difficult to know how far truth and the greatest good require that the details of that opposition should be portrayed to public view. But the main facts, certainly, in a correct history, cannot be withheld and I shall therefore, taking great care and special pains to be exact, endeavor to give them. Here, however, in the first place a few general remarks seem to be necessary by way of explanation.

I proceed then to say that something should be known in regard to the materials of which the foreign population then at the islands was composed.

The largest class by far consisted of sailors, a part of whom had been put on shore by masters of ships for mutiny or for disorderly conduct, a part, desirous of living a more easy and licentious life, even though amidst filth and degradation, had run the risk of deserting, and a part (I know not what proportion) had gained a residence in ways less objectionable. This class of persons, with but few exceptions, were, of course, very ignorant, low, vile and intemperate. They consisted of Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese—and indeed of a representation of almost every nation. Visit what island you choose in the broad Pacific and you will find more or less of this class of persons, living familiarly with the natives and engrafting a new variety of loathsome vices on the congenial stock of heathenism.

Another class of persons found at the Sandwich Islands were deserters from Botany Bay who preferred to roam at large on these islands and on other islands too of the Pacific rather than to remain under the restraints of the colony. This class usually have more mental capacity and more information than run-away sailors and are by no means less adept in vice and crime. Tradition says it was this class of persons who first taught the islanders to distil ardent spirits.

A third class remains to be noticed. They were mostly traders, merchants and commercial agents. The trade was with the natives, with ships touching at these islands, and extended somewhat to other islands, to Kamschatka and to the American coast. At the time of which we speak this class

of persons was few in number. They were mostly sea-faring men, had enjoyed the advantages and had suffered the disadvantages, mental and moral, of that course of life. Having become acquainted with these islands in their voyages, they had relinquished a life at sea and chosen a residence upon these shores. They constituted of course the center of foreign influence. To characterize that influence as having been uniformly immoral and pernicious would be doing injustice to worthy individuals.

In regard to this class of the foreign community especially, a great change has taken place during the last ten years. And it is difficult to give the true character of the foreign population as it was in the days of Kaahumanu without producing an impression on the public mind unfavorable to the present residents. There is danger that readers at a distance will not properly distinguish.

This change for the better has been effected by a variety of influences. The first that may be mentioned is a more rapid and frequent intercommunication between these islands and the nations of Christendom. Intelligence is conveyed oftener and with more despatch both around the capes and across the continents. There was scarcely a month during the last year in which we did not hear from the United States and the United States from us. And intelligence not only runs more rapidly but is also more explicit—the connecting links being multiplied, correspondence has greatly increased—the letter bags both to and fro are very much fuller than years ago. The effect of this intercommunication has been to bring foreigners nearer home, and, of course, to feel more the influence of relatives, of friends, and of public sentiment. No human being, any more than Hazael, knows what he would be if left without restraint. Restraints are not too numerous nor too strong in the United States. The Sandwich Islands years ago were considered as almost out of the world and restraints of course were very few and very weak. The nearer men are brought to the United States and to Great Britain the more are these restraints recreated and of course a change of conduct necessarily takes place.

Another source of influence during the few past years has been an addition to the society of foreign residents of a number of sober, intelligent, industrious and upright men, including also a few persons of Christian profession and consistent piety.

Female influence, too, has accomplished much. Many of the persons last named have brought their wives—ladies of intelligence and refinement—and in some instances pious and exemplary. The influence from this source has been silent but irresistible. It has created a barrier to vice which nothing else could have done and operated in combination with other influences to give an improved character to public sentiment.

The temperance movements in the United States and in Great Britain have sent forth an influence that has reached even to these islands and is operating more or less even at this remote distance.

The stated ministrations of God's word and ordinances have had great influence. A chapel and reading rooms were erected in the very center of Honolulu as early as 1833 by the Seamen's Friend Society. A church was formed. Mr. Diell labored faithfully, preaching, visiting and distributing Bibles and tracts. The difficulties of his post and the arduousness of his labors may have shortened his life. Mr. Damon now succeeds him. Reading rooms have been erected at Lahaina and recently a chapel. Preaching in English has been maintained at this latter place during the months of shipping; Bibles and tracts, too, have been distributed.

These are new times. Once foreign residents at these islands lived year after year without hearing the gospel, without a Sabbath, without any intercourse with pious men, without feeling any restraint or refining influence from intelligent and pious females,—at islands then deemed almost out of the world, in the midst of heathen, where open vice and unblushing sin met them at every corner, where iniquity knew no restraint and virtue no defense, and where indeed every influence, operating day after day and for a series of years was demoralizing and degrading. It was with

foreign residents who had been thus situated that the first missionaries came in contact. Such were the persons who opposed the reformation in the days of Kaahumanu.

Something should here be said to guard readers at a distance against the deception of names and titles. If the government of Great Britain or that of the United States appoints a consul to protect their interests on some barbarous group, such as the Fiji or Mulgrave Islands are now, or the Sandwich Islands were twenty years ago, it is to be understood that such a person is appointed as can be obtained to reside in such a community as I have described, or from their own number, and not necessarily a man of dignity and worth. Facts other than his office are necessary to establish his character for respectability and virtue. The high sound of his office should not be suffered to mislead us.

In regard to seamen visiting the islands at the time of which we speak a remark or two may be made. I think it is true that sailors of upright and sober character seldom embark on long voyages to the Pacific, and especially upon whaling voyages that require an absence of three or four years, far from friends, from civilization and from all Christian privileges. Such sailors prefer usually shorter voyages, and those between Christian ports, so that they may often see their friends and often attend upon the preaching of the gospel. The sailors therefore who committed the outrages at the Sandwich Islands, which must be alluded to, were the lowest and most reckless of sea-faring men. Masters and officers of ships were of course persons of some information, but then it is to be considered that much of their training had been at sea, far from the sound of the gospel and away from the restraints of home and country.

Besides, it must be remembered that these were not the days of the temperance reformation. Almost every ship dealt out an allowance of grog and most of the outrages to which we refer were committed under the excitement of ardent spirits. This fact should have much weight.

Having made these general remarks in regard to residents and sailors so as to be better understood, I remark in

addition that in stating facts I shall introduce names as little as possible without leading to too much indefiniteness, and consistently, too, with my object of giving a just and true statement of the progress of events. If it shall be needful, in order to sustain the cause of truth and righteousness, that certain opposers should be held up by name to public view any more than they have been already, the unpleasant necessity, I hope, will be long delayed and the painful task fall to other hands. Many facts and names, too, have already been made public in the journals of visitors and the periodicals of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A still more startling array of facts could be given in connection with certain names and it is the opinion of some that the time may come when the truth shall require such an exposure. But I would fain believe that I at least may be excused from such a trial.

In regard to most who took part in acts of opposition, the ignorant multitude I mean, I look upon them with feelings of sorrow rather than of indignation, and am inclined to ask myself in what respect I should have behaved differently if I had been left to grow up under the same neglect and abuse, been thrown loose from moral restraint, been shut out from the sound of the gospel and surrounded from year to year by influences the most demoralizing and pernicious. I am therefore more inclined to weep over the conduct of such men than to denounce and censure them.

To proceed then, I remark that as soon as Christianity became popular at the islands some ill-minded men from Christian lands became bitterly enraged at the efforts of the missionaries,—ill-minded men, I say; for some foreigners, visitors and residents were upright in their deportment and decidedly in favor of the reformation effected.

Whilst the chiefs and people were opposed and jealous, the opposers to whom I allude, were friendly; and it is natural to infer, that the reason of their being so was because the exertions of the missionaries could not materially interfere with the gratification of their desires. For, when the tide was turned—the missionaries had acquired influence—

a check was given to unjust gain—open acts of Sabbath-breaking made an offense, and the sloughs of intemperance and licentiousness in a measure dried up—then they were filled with rage and bitterness.

The very opposition, therefore, of which we are compelled to speak, affords indubitable evidence of great progress and success in the missionary work at the islands.

I cannot consent to give either my readers or myself the pain to enter upon the details of opposition. I shall therefore abbreviate very much, even statements which already lie scattered in various books and periodicals, and add but few others, hoping that a just view may be given without entering upon a minute narration.

Take the scene of October, 1825. A missionary and his family are alone on the Island of Maui. The British whale ship *Daniel*, Capt. Buckle, arrives and comes to anchor. The crew soon find that a change has taken place. Instead of the accustomed throng of native females, not an individual of the sex approaches the ship. They naturally impute the change to the influence of the missionary, and are full of rage on account of it. A little after sunset two of them approach his door and shamelessly complain of the reformation effected. Their complaints are dispassionately but firmly met by sound and substantial reasons and they retire. Another company soon enters the inclosure—some rush at the door uttering threats, and some thrust their heads into the windows and there vent their rage. One more forward than his fellows comes fully up in the face of the missionary and in the presence of his sick wife and helpless children threatens first his property, then his house, then his life, and then the lives of all his family. The missionary replies: "We left our country to devote our lives, whether longer or shorter, to the salvation of the heathen; we hope we are equally prepared for life or death, and shall throw our breasts open to your knives rather than retrace the steps we have taken."

In sight and in hearing of all this sits the wife of the missionary, sick and surrounded by a group of helpless children. She, sustained and nerved by the grace of God, firm-

ly adds: "I am feeble and have none to look to for protection but my husband and my God. I might hope that in my helpless situation I should have the compassion of all who are from a Christian country. But if you are without compassion, or if it can be exercised only in the way you propose, then I wish you all to understand that I am ready to share the fate of my husband, and will by no means consent to live upon the terms you offer."

The adamant seemed to melt a little at such an appeal as this and the mob merely vented their rage in horrid oaths and threats without using personal violence.

Two days after they came again in a body, bearing a black flag and armed, some with knives and one or two with pistols. They found at the gate a guard of natives. They made several thrusts at the natives and pressed their way through to the door. The missionary and his family retired to a back apartment of the house, where they supposed they would be the most secure. The natives, armed with clubs, immediately rushed in through every window and obliged the mob to disperse.

A note had been sent to the captain the day before requesting him to control the conduct of his men. He replied in substance: "Comply with the wishes of the sailors, and there will be peace and quietness." A different answer could not have been expected, for on board his ship was a native female whom on a former visit he had procured of Peleuli (Wahinepio), a vile and opposing chief of secondary rank, for \$160, and had obliged her to accompany him during his cruise at sea notwithstanding all her tears and entreaties.

After these disturbances the natives kept a strong guard about the house of the missionary till the sailing of the ship.

The ship proceeded to Honolulu where similar outrages were perpetrated.

It would be a relief if we could state that it was from the ignorant crews of whaling ships alone that such opposition was experienced. We are compelled here to record an instance of a different kind. The account as narrated by numerous eye-witnesses is substantially as follows: The

armed schooner *Dolphin* of the U. S. Navy arrived at Honolulu January 14, 1826. This was about three months after the proclamation of a law prohibiting native females from going on board ships for infamous purposes. About the same time the Ten Commandments were adopted by the chiefs as rules of conduct and of government—a transaction that is deserving of particular attention and which will be noticed on a future page. The commander of the schooner, Lieut. John Percival, expressed his decided disapprobation of the law in regard to females and interested himself to procure the release of four base women who were then in custody for its violation.

He imputed the existence of the law to the influence of the missionaries, and, as reported at the time by several of the high chiefs, threatened the utmost violence both to the persons and houses of the missionaries on account of it. Threats, indeed, were uttered with so much rage and earnestness that the chiefs became alarmed for the safety of their teachers.

The cloud of wrath continued to threaten and gather blackness till the 26th of February. It is believed that certain residents during this time were neither indifferent nor inactive. The 26th was the Sabbath day. On the morning of that day a congregation of perhaps three thousand souls assembled in the open air to listen to the words of life and salvation. Their house of worship had been recently unroofed by a storm. In the afternoon the weather did not permit of meeting again in the open air and a more private meeting was appointed across the road at the house of Kalamimoku, who was confined by sickness. Between five and six o'clock the missionary was about to commence religious worship with the little group when a company of sailors from the schooner, armed with knives and clubs, entered the room of the sick chief and demanded a repeal of the above named law. They were driven out, but not until they had broken the windows of the house. Another company of sailors arrived, and still another, and as they were driven away from the house of the chief they directed their course to the house

of the missionary. The missionary, alarmed for his family, endeavored to reach his house before them, but was seized by the rioters and after several narrow escapes of life, both the blow of a club and the thrust of a knife being aimed at him, he was rescued by the natives and reached his house without receiving much injury. The rioters endeavored to force his door and broke in a window, but were not allowed to do further injury.

The attendants of Kalanimoku and other natives who came to assist were ready to interpose their lives to save their chief and their teachers, and it was with difficulty that they could be kept in their zeal from repelling violence with violence. Indeed, several of the rioters owe their lives to the timely interference of the very persons, chiefs and missionaries, against whom they were venting their rage and aiming their blows.

The commander of the schooner waited on the chiefs, declaring in the strongest terms his determined resolution that the law above alluded to should be repealed.

Many of the chiefs had not independence and decision of character enough to maintain their ground against the continued and combined threats of a man of war and of foreign residents, and a connivance at a breach of the law by some of them, unknown to Kalanimoku, was the result. In the dusk of the evening of the next day a boat with females passed along the harbor and a shout arose among the shipping at the glorious(!) victory that had been achieved.

The schooner remained at the islands about four months and the disastrous influence it exerted during that time can be better imagined than described. The flood gates of immorality were in a measure thrown open at Honolulu, and many of the unwary people, and some of the chiefs, too, became the victims of intemperance, gambling and polluting vice. How true it is that "one sinner destroyeth much good."

In the United States, a Court of Inquiry was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to investigate this disgraceful affair, but the proceedings were never made public.

In the fall of the same year (1826), when several ships, American and English, were at anchor at Lahaina, riotous proceedings were repeated at that place of equal enormity with those committed there the previous year. The missionary and his family were absent. A mob proceeded to the mission house for the purpose of committing violence, but were obliged to content themselves with wanton destruction of such property as they could find. As the only safety for the females of the place, they were sent by the chiefs to the mountains and remained there several days. In the meantime, the seamen vented their rage by destroying the property of the natives.

It was no small relief to the minds of the missionaries when suffering such opposition from violent men to be assured of the approbation of some visitors at the islands who were persons of high reputation and real worth. The well-timed and decided approbation of Lord Byron has already been noticed. And now we are allowed to record the honorable conduct of Capt. Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, of the U. S. Sloop of war Peacock. The Peacock arrived in Honolulu in October, 1826, and remained till the close of the year. Capt. Jones manifested an independence of character and an unbiased judgment worthy of his office and his reputation.*

On account of slanderous reports that had been for some time industriously circulated and crowded upon the attention of various visitors and now reiterated in the ears of Capt. Jones, the missionaries prepared and signed a circular stating briefly the course they had pursued, denying the charges against them which were commonly reported, and challenging an investigation. Certain residents at once, taking occasion from the circular, appointed a meeting to be held before Capt. Jones. At the meeting the missionaries required of course, that their accusers should bring definite charges in writing and substantiate them by proper evi-

*Not one word about reclamations of American citizens to the amount of \$500,000, payment of which in sandal wood, Capt. Jones enforced.—(Pub.)

dence. The opposers refused to bring definite charges and proceeded to express in general terms and with much disorder their dissatisfaction with the management of the mission.

Some time being spent in this way, Capt. Jones requested that the circular might be read, which being done, he proceeded to state what in his view was the just and proper course of investigation,—that the circular was full and explicit and that the public was fairly called upon either to point out any incorrectness of principle or to show wherein the conduct of the missionaries did not correspond with their profession;—that it was incumbent upon the accusers to direct the attention of the missionaries to some special charge and to support that charge by suitable evidence.

On hearing this opinion of Capt. Jones, some of the residents moved an adjournment. Capt. Jones added a few words when the motion for adjournment was renewed and the meeting broke up. About three weeks afterwards, when about to leave the islands, Capt. Jones wrote an affectionate farewell letter to the missionaries, testifying to the good effects of missionary labor which had fallen under his observation and expressing a strong desire that the interesting work which had been begun at the islands might be prosecuted with continued success.

But we must proceed to mention other instances of outrage. The following year (1827), a third attack was made at Lahaina. Cannon balls passed near the roof of the missionary's house, and he and his family took refuge in the cellar.

The main circumstances as related by eye-witnesses were as follows: The crew of the English whale ship John Palmer, Capt. Clark, enticed several base women on board. Hoapili, the governor of the island, demanded of the captain that they should be delivered up to him according to the law of the nation. The captain evaded and ridiculed the demand. One day when the captain was on shore the governor detained him and his boat, insisting that his demand should be complied with. The captain sent orders by the boats of

other ships to his men on board to fire upon the town if he should not be released in an hour. He soon, however, promised that if the governor would release him the women should be sent on shore. The crew, in the meantime, commenced firing upon the town according to orders, and discharged five balls, all in the direction of the mission house, before they heard of the captain's release. The next morning he sailed for Oahu, and, as might be expected of such a man, without fulfilling his promise.

He arrived at Oahu in time to take part in a great excitement at that place. The missionary at Lahaina had sent to the United States an account of the outrage of 1825, which we have noticed. It was printed in the *Missionary Herald* and extensively copied in newspapers, and both it and the captain implicated arrived at Honolulu about the time of which we speak—near the close of 1827. There were then two riotous captains with their crews at Honolulu and not a few residents who sympathized with them. Their wrath, gaining strength by mutual enkindling and combination, knew no bounds. The Sandwich Islands had been regarded as a spot far from the observation of civilized nations where men might wallow in all moral pollution and return with reputations untarnished. They saw that this privilege was now coming to an end; that what men did at the islands was liable to be told on the other side of the globe, and their rage of course at such an unwelcome discovery was very great. They harrassed the chiefs so continually with bitter complaints and the excitement became so great that Kaahumanu, the Regent, ordered the principal chiefs from Lahaina and the missionary also from that place to meet at Honolulu. I have in my hands an account of this meeting written by a native who was present and took part in it, and as it exhibits the aspect of things as they appeared to the chiefs and people, it may be well to give the sum of it.

“The excitement became very great and some foreigners who had formerly been favorable to the mission were gained over to take part in it; and certain unstable chiefs, also, particularly Boki and Manuia, joined with the opposers, saying

it was wrong for Mr. Richards to make known in America the conduct of foreigners which took place at these islands. Certain chiefs of Oahu wrote to chiefs on Maui to this effect: 'Chiefs of Maui, if Captain Buckle and Captain Clark and the English Consul demand your teacher, do you take care of yourselves and not refuse to give him up; let a foreigner contest the matter with foreigners, and intermeddle not yourselves lest you become guilty.'

"This sentiment, gaining ground and causing great confusion, Kaahumanu called a council of all the chiefs to determine whether it was right to give up Mr. Richards to the rage of the foreigners or whether it was their duty to protect him.

"Mr. Richards was to sail to Oahu on Wednesday evening, and on the afternoon he preached to his people at Lahaina from the parting address of Paul to the Ephesian Church. The congregation was in tears, for they had heard the opinion of many chiefs not to protect him and supposed they would never again hear his voice.

"The chiefs met and were in council two days without coming to a decision, for Boki and even Mr. Young, the companion of the old king Kamehameha, said it was wrong for Mr. Richards to write to America.

"On the third day, David Malo and Kanaina entered within one of the doors of the council room, and Kaahumanu, having much confidence in David Malo as a teacher, beckoned to him to sit down. She then said to him with tears, 'What can we do for our teacher? for even Mr. Young and Boki say that he was very guilty in writing to America.' David said: 'The foreigners certainly are very inconsistent, for they say it is very foolish to pray, but very well to learn to read and write, and now they condemn Mr. Richards, not for praying, but for writing a letter. But,' said he, 'let us look at this case; if some of your most valuable property should be stolen and you should be grieved for the loss of it, and some one should give you information of the thief so that you could regain your property, whom would you blame, the informer or the thief?' 'The thief, surely,' said she. David said:

'Kanihonui was guilty of improper conduct with one of the wives of Kamehameha, and Luluhe was knowing to the fact and gave him information, which of the two did Kamehameha cause to be slain?' She said: 'Kanihonui.' David said: 'In what country is it the practice to condemn the man who gives true information of crimes committed and let the criminal go uncensured and unpunished?' 'Nowhere,' said she. 'Why, then,' replied David, 'should we condemn Mr. Richards, who has sent home to his country true information, and justify these foreigners whose riotous conduct is known to all of us?' Kaahumanu replied: 'The case indeed is very plain; Mr. Richards is the just one—we chiefs are very ignorant.' Kaahumanu then conferred with the well-disposed chiefs and came to a decided resolution to protect Mr. Richards.

"The next morning came the British Consul in his official dress, with Capt. Buckle, Boki, Manuia and several merchants, and with an air of confidence and importance, entered into the hall of council and insisted that Mr. Richards should be punished. But Kaahumanu had made up her mind—and she told them her decision; and all knew, foreigners as well as natives, that whatever they might afterwards say would be like the beating of the sea against a rock. The matter, of course, was ended."

Other particulars might be added to this native account, but as they would not present the case in any different light, we will omit them.

Before the chiefs separated, they agreed upon certain important laws to promote good order, and ordered them to be printed.

Many such scenes of outrage and opposition as I have named occurred at different times and on different islands, but I refrain from describing them.

We should exhibit but little of the spirit of our Master if we should manifest vindictive feelings. Let us rather be stimulated by such facts to more labor and prayer, that all who go forth from a Christian land may show themselves worthy of the Christian name. Let us name the ungodly

conduct of seamen only with deep selfreproach for our neglect of them. Why are they, as a class, wicked and degraded?

Neither would we unnecessarily expose those more knowing and more guilty persons who were leaders in these scenes of outrage and opposition, but record their conduct only so far as truth demands, and in a spirit of meekness and Christian forbearance.

But having said enough perhaps for the present of this feature of the times of Kaahumanu—the opposition from foreigners—we may now proceed to narrate other events in the order of their occurrence.

And here it is needful, in the first place, to give a catalogue of the principal chiefs then living on the islands, for they, of course, were the prominent actors in most of the events we have to narrate.

(1) Kauikeaouli, or Kamehameha III, present king of the islands, brother of Liholiho, or Kamehameha II, who died in England, and son of Kamehameha I, the conqueror, by Keopuolani, the daughter of Kiwalao, who was a son of Kalaniopuu, the king of Hawaii at the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook. Kauikeaouli was born at Ooma, in Kona, on Hawaii. When his brother, Liholiho, sailed for England he was only about twelve years of age and could not of course assume the reins of government.

(2) Nahienaena, daughter of Kamehameha I, by Keopuolani; and of course sister of the two kings, Liholiho and Kauikeaouli; she was younger than either of her brothers. Died December 30, 1836.

(3) Kaahumanu, a wife of Kamehameha I, and after his death wife of Kaumualii; she was a daughter of Keeaumoku, one of the principal chiefs who aided Kamehameha in his wars and councils; was born at Kawaipapa, in Hana, on East Maui. She was a prominent personage in the affairs of government even from the days of the conquest. In the present constitution of the Hawaiian government the following language is used: “Even in the time of Kamehameha I, life and death, condemnation and acquittal were in the

hands of Kaahumanu. When Kamehameha I died, his will was: 'The kingdom is Liholiho's, and Kaahumanu is his minister.' "

Kamehameha was wise enough to originate this important feature of government to operate as a check upon the supreme ruler of the kingdom against any rash act of authority, and it has existed ever since and is now made permanent by the constitution; the person sustaining the office being called the Premier of the Government. Kaahumanu sustained that office in the time of Kamehameha I, and during the short reign of Liholiho. When Liholiho sailed for England, and during the minority of the present king Kaulikeaouli it fell to her of course—naturally and by common consent—to exercise the supreme power. Some opposers have been bold enough to term her government an usurpation. Such an idea, if there were the least shadow of ground for it, would suit well their purposes. It is well, on account of such assertions, to keep in mind that the origin of her authority was as far back as the time of the conquest. That the regency devolved upon her, was conceded at once by the whole nation; for any other chief to have assumed it would have been usurpation indeed. Boki, it is true, after he had given himself up to dissipation, denied her right to the regency and endeavored to raise himself to that office, but there is little reason to believe that such a claim originated in his own thoughts. He was surrounded by foreigners who were ready to poison his mind with such notions. No sober minded chief ever doubted for a moment that Kaahumanu was rightfully regent by the appointment of Kamehameha I. Of her character we have already said much and shall have occasion to say more. Died June 5, 1832.

(4) Kaheiheimalie, sister of Kaahumanu, a wife of Kamehameha I, and afterward the wife by Christian marriage of Hoapili, governor of Maui. She then took the name of Hoapiliwahine by which she has since been known. She was a stable chief and a consistent Christian. Died January 16, 1842.

(5) Keeaumoku, sometimes called by foreigners Gov. Cox, was governor of Maui and its adjacent islands. He was a brother to Kaahumanu. Died in March, 1824.

(6) Piia, sister of Kaahumanu. She embraced the gospel and adorned her profession. Died September 12, 1829.

(7) Kuakini (Gov. Adams), a brother of Kaahumanu, present governor of the island of Hawaii.

(8) Kamamalu, daughter of Kamehameha I, by Kaheihimalie; she became a wife of Liholiho and accompanied him to England, where she died, July, 1824.

(9) Kinau, or Kaahumanu II, who became Premier of government after the death of Kaahumanu I; sister of Kamamalu. She was not only active in the affairs of government, but a zealous supporter of the cause of Christ. Died April 4, 1839.

(10) Kalanimoku (Pitt), son of Kekuamanoha by Kamakahukilani, born in Hana, on East Maui. His parents fled to Hawaii on account of war, where he joined himself to Kamehameha I, distinguished himself in his wars and his counsels and was noted for energy and despatch. He was not of high rank by blood, but by his abilities became one of much authority and ever held a prominent place in the government. He assumed in a measure the executive power after Liholiho sailed for England, not as having a prior claim to Kaahumanu, but as her minister.

A mistake was committed in the early communications of the missionaries in naming Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku as joint regents of the islands. The mistake thus originating, found its way into the periodicals of the A. B. C. F. M., and having never been corrected, continues still to exist. Kalanimoku (Pitt), was never regent. Kaahumanu was sole regent, and Kalanimoku was her minister. He died February 8, 1827.

After his death, Kaahumanu exercised the authority of regent more prominently than before in her own person. Kalanimoku was a hopeful Christian.

(11) Boki, brother of Kalanimoku. He sailed to England with Liholiho, and returned in the *Blonde*. He re-

ceived much notice and attention on account of his visit to England and was promoted to a high trust in government. He did not endure his elevation, combined as it was with many temptations; became a slave of dissipation and a victim of rashness. He was a chief of rather low rank, and no idea could have been more preposterous than that he had a right to supersede Kaahumanu as regent. The notion must have originated with foreigners who were ignorant of the relative rank of the chiefs, and it has since been fondly cherished by certain persons for special purposes. Lost at sea in 1830.

(12) Kaumualii, governor of Kauai, son of Kaeo by Kamakahalei, became a husband of Kaahumanu. He embraced Christianity and died in hope, May, 1824.

(13) Kekauonohi, grand daughter by the father's side of Kamehameha I, a niece by the mother's side of Kalanimoku and Boki; being daughter of a chief named Kinau, son of Kamehameha I, by Peleuli; and her mother being Kahakuhaakoi, sister of Kalanimoku.

(14) Hoapili, or Ulumeheihei, late governor of Maui, son of Kameeiamoku by Keliiokahekili, cousin to Kaahumanu and her brothers and sisters, having the same grandfather, Keawepoepoe. He was a firm supporter of the Christian religion. Died January 3, 1840.

(15) Pauahi, a wife of Liholiho, daughter of Kaolioku, a son of Kamehameha I, which son was born before the conquest. Died in 1825.

(16) Kēkauluohi, or Auhea, or Kaahumanu III, the present Premier of government, a wife of Liholiho, daughter of Kalaimemehu by Kaheiheimalie.

(17) Liliha, the wife of Boki, daughter of Hoapili, or Ulumeheihei, by Kalilikauoha, the daughter of Kahekili, the old king of Maui. Died August 25, 1839.

(18) Kahalaia, son of Kalaimemehu by Kahakuhaakoi, the sister of Kalanimoku, half-brother of Auhea and nephew of Kalanimoku. Died in 1826.

(19) Kahekili, or Kaukuna, son of Kawelookalani by Peleuli.

(20) Kaikioewa, late governor of Kauai, son of Kaiana by Kamakahekuli; cousin to Kaahumanu, their mothers being sisters. Died April 10, 1839.

(21) Kaehupaki, son of Kalanihelemailuna by Kawao; grandson of the old chief Kamehameha, who was brother of Kahekili, king of Maui, after whom Kamehameha, the conqueror, was named.

(22) Kealiiahonui, son of Kaumualii, governor of Kauai, by Kapuaamoku.

(23) Aikanaka, son of Kaikioewa by Keohohiwa; died 1837.

(24) Naihe, called the national orator, son of Keaweaheulu by Ululani. He professed Christianity and died in hope of the gospel in 1831.

(25) Kapiolani, daughter of Keawemauhili by Kekikipaa; wife of Naihe. She was a zealous and consistent Christian and took the lead decidedly of all Sandwich Islanders of her time in habits of civilization. Died May 5, 1841.

This catalogue might be extended much further, and it would be difficult to say where it should be closed; but, not to be tedious, it may be best for the present to end it here. I have named most or all who were prominent actors at the time of which we speak. Most of the chiefs in this catalogue are now dead, and the affairs of the nation are beginning to devolve upon a younger class, whose names may be given hereafter.

It has already been said, that Boki and those who returned with him in the *Blonde* were greeted on their arrival with tumultuous expressions of extravagant joy. They also continued to receive more attention than was due to their rank on account of their having visited a great kingdom, having seen new and strange things, having gained some information which other chiefs did not possess, and having adopted to some extent the manners of Europeans. Boki and his wife Liliha returned from England enthusiastic admirers of what they had seen of the Christian religion; and, for a time, after their arrival, they both seemed disposed to make good use of the means of grace. They not only at-

tended upon the preaching of the gospel, but frequented also private prayer meetings and sought instruction from teachers and from books. This apparent disposition of Boki was very pleasing to Kaahumanu and other pious chiefs, and in consequence of it, combined with the fascination of having been abroad, he was soon promoted to the high trust of having the immediate guardianship of the young king.

After the war on Kauai, Kaikioewa, the guardian of the young king, was made governor of that island. The guardianship then devolved upon Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku. Boki having returned and having resumed his office as governor of Oahu, and being, as we have seen, quite popular, Kaahumanu committed to him the immediate care of the young king Kauikeaouli,—a measure which she had soon occasion deeply to regret.

His regard for religion soon vanished. He became greedy of gain, stooping to the vilest means to acquire it, even countenancing for that purpose grog-shops and houses of ill fame, soon fell into intemperate habits, and made efforts to revive heathen sports and the vile practices of former times; became the easy dupe of malicious and designing foreigners, taking part in opposition to the missionaries and exerting all his power to overthrow the government of Kaahumanu. To strengthen his party he became lavish of gifts; and to obtain rum and articles of show and luxury for himself, his wife and his favorites he contracted heavy debts with foreign merchants, after the example of Liholiho; and then, to pay the interest upon these debts, imposed oppressive taxes upon the people, particularly in sandal wood, causing great distress and hardship. His debts were entailed upon the government after his death, and hung for a long time as a heavy burden upon the poor people. More than all this, he was detected several different times in collecting soldiers, guns and ammunition to make war against Kaahumanu. A minute account might be given if necessary of his seditious acts at Kewalo, at Nuuanu, at Waoala, at Hilo and at Waikiki.

When Boki began to give himself up to his pleasures and

his passions, Kaahumanu endeavored to separate the young king from his company and to take him under her own immediate care. But it was too late; the great error had already been committed, for not only was Boki tenacious of his claim, but the young king, having acquired a taste for pleasure, was loath to leave the jovial inmates of the house of Boki for the restraints and somber companions of the serious Kaahumanu.

The conduct of Boki was a severe trial to his brother, Kalanimoku. After remonstrating with Boki once and again to no purpose, it is said that he became so deeply grieved and mortified that, though very ill and feeble, he left the island of Oahu and sailed to Hawaii, where he soon died, (February 8th, 1827), esteemed as a chief and beloved as a Christian.

Boki, having the young king under his influence and care, being constantly encouraged and urged forward by the mass of foreign residents, whose desires and plans were much promoted by such a patron of intemperance, licentiousness and rebellion, and having gained to his side by prodigality and other means a considerable party of subordinate chiefs and common people, was able to occasion much perplexity and solicitude even to so independent and energetic a ruler as Kaahumanu. It required all her decision and authority to keep him in check. Providence, however, disconcerted his seditious plans and cut short his career.

Boki, standing in such an attitude to the Regent, to the missionaries, and to the work of Christian reformation, it was natural for foreigners to make use of his name in their representations abroad. A letter in bad English, dated January 24, 1826, purporting to have been written by Boki, and containing complaints against the missionaries and Kaahumanu, even found its way into the *London Quarterly Review*. The forgery was of the grossest kind, carrying its refutation on its face, and one would think could easily have been detected even by editors entirely unacquainted with the islands, and yet, very unaccountably, the reviewers pledged themselves that the letter was genuine. To one in the least ac-

quainted with the language of the islands the letter bore the most indubitable internal evidence—in its style and orthography—that it could not have been written by a Hawaiian. Besides, it was well known that Boki could not write even bad English—he could not speak or read it. When the letter reached the islands, it was shown to Boki, but he could not read it; it was then translated to him, upon which he gave his written testimony that the letter was not his. His written testimony is preserved.

Boki continued his career of prodigality, intemperance and opposition, causing great solicitude to Kaahumanu, and occasioning much disturbance and no little peril in the affairs of government. At length the God of nations, who had so signally interposed in other emergencies, displayed again His timely aid.

Boki's debts began to press hard upon him. He sent his men to the mountains for sandal wood, but little could be obtained. He knew not which way to turn. He had also been so often detected in acts of sedition that he was ashamed to meet the reproving eye of Kaahumanu and other well disposed chiefs. On these accounts he was in a fit state of mind to engage in any wild and reckless enterprise, and he soon had an opportunity.

A ship from Port Jackson arrived at Honolulu in November, 1829, and the captain reported that sandal wood was abundant on an island where he had touched in the South Pacific. This was good news to Boki, and as a person who arrived in the ship proposed to lead an expedition to the reported island, Boki lost no time in making preparations to embark. Kaahumanu was absent on another island and he met with little hindrance in effecting his purpose. He fitted out two brigs owned at the islands, the "Kamehameha" and the "Becket." The outfit of water was put on board on the Sabbath day, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties and faithful admonitions of some influential church members. Hastily equipped and insufficiently victualled, the expedition sailed on the 2nd of December. The whole procedure seemed to indicate a mind given up of God to reck-

lessness and infatuation. Boki embarked in the "Kamehameha" with about 300 men. Manuia, who was an agent of Boki in all his plans, took charge of the "Becket" with 179 men. Almost the whole company of opposers who had been gathered by Boki went on this mad expedition.

The two brigs arrived and anchored together at an island called Rukuma, the productions, houses and inhabitants of which island reminded them of home. At this island they in some measure refitted. From Rukuma the sandal wood island, called by the natives Nanapua, probably Erremango of the New Hebrides, was but a few days distant. The Kamehameha parted from the Becket at Rukuma, sailing ten days first. When the Becket arrived at Nanapua, search was made in vain for the Kamehameha. Pieces of a wreck had been seen in the neighborhood, but they could not be identified as belonging to the brig.

The Becket remained at the island about five weeks, but the hostility of the natives and sickness among the people on board defeated entirely the object of the expedition. The sickness raged with great virulence and many died, among whom was Manuia, the commander. The survivors set sail to return. They touched again at Rukuma and left there many of the sick. Some of their number recovered and have since found their way home. The Becket arrived at length at Honolulu on the third day of August, 1830. Sickness and want had so thinned their number that out of 179 persons only twenty remained, eight of whom were foreigners. The account they gave of their sufferings and losses was deeply affecting, and the mournful voices of the friends of the dead were heard, night after night, in deep-toned wailing through the whole village of Honolulu.

The friends of Boki had some lingering hope that he with his 300 men might still be alive, but after waiting anxiously month after month, they were forced to conclude that the brig was lost and that Boki and all with him had perished. The hand of God was in this event. No one can be so dull as not to perceive it.

It is time now perhaps to turn to other topics. And first a few words may be said concerning the progress of legislation.

During all the days of Kaahumanu, the leading features of the government continued to be the same that they had been from time immemorial. They were of a feudal character, and have already been sufficiently described in a former chapter. The oppressiveness of the system, however, was mitigated by the humane, benevolent and Christian disposition which Kaahumanu and some of the governors and subordinate chiefs began to exhibit,—by the desire and efforts of Kaahumanu particularly, to promote the happiness of the people. But the kindest spirit could only lighten the burdens of the people—it could not remove them, for they were inseparable from the very nature of the government.

The missionaries did not consider it their duty to turn aside to give instruction in civil affairs. If it had been proper for them to have done so, it was out of their power, for they had other work that required all their care and thoughts. They were at that time but few in number, and the whole population from Hawaii to Kauai was, in the providence of God, cast upon their hands, looking up and waiting to be told the words of eternal life. Who can say that it was not judging rightly to attend first and almost exclusively to the preaching of the gospel? Was it not better for the people to suffer awhile under temporal burdens than to lack that vision, without which their souls were perishing?

The government remained without a written constitution and without anything like a code of laws. Proclamations were made, from time to time, by the Regent and also by the several governors on their respective islands. The more important regulations were made by the body of the chiefs in council; and after the press came into operation and schools were established and a considerable portion of the chiefs and people had learned to read, then such regulations began to be printed.

Some important measures were adopted in accordance with the advice of respected and trustworthy visitors.

Among these trial by jury in capital cases is worthy of notice. The regulation was advised by Lord Byron in 1825, and has been uniformly adhered to ever since.

As early as the fall of 1825, Kaahumanu and other chiefs saw the desirableness of having something like permanent and definite laws instead of occasional proclamations. They applied to the missionaries to recommend such laws, and the missionaries were perplexed to know what was duty in such a case. There were no other persons in whom they had confidence to apply for information. That they needed laws was evident and deeply felt, but to adapt laws, except those of the most general kind, to their system of government was not to be thought of, and to write out any thing like a system of government and a corresponding code of laws, make the ideas plain and familiar to the chiefs and people, and help them to carry the whole into practice would have been a task hopelessly formidable and an intermeddling with political affairs plainly inconsistent with explicit instructions. The general principles of a criminal code, however, they were at liberty to point out, as instructors in morals and religion. What did they do? The Ten Commandments had been translated and printed and the missionaries directed the attention of the chiefs to those commandments as a summary of duty binding upon all nations and upon all men.

What better they could have done it is difficult to say, and yet this course was not unattended with evil. We have already adverted to the tendency in the nation, in accordance with former heathen notions, to connect religion with the affairs of government. Such a tendency may have been strengthened, certainly not weakened, by having their attention turned to the commandments of God as laws for the kingdom; for the chiefs assembled in council to adopt, as laws to be proclaimed throughout the islands, the Ten Commandments of God, which extend not merely to outward actions, but also to the heart and conscience, and which enjoins religious duties no less than upright conduct between man and man.

But it probably would have been utterly impossible, in those early times, to have restricted the power of the chiefs to civil matters. They had never known any such restriction. It has taken the civilized world a long time to learn the province of civil government, as distinct from the province of religious obligation. The chiefs at the Sandwich Islands could not distinguish at once, and they do not distinguish very clearly even now. Former notions, however, are gradually wearing away and the great principles of private judgment and right of conscience are beginning to be recognized.

Adopting the Ten Commandments as laws of the kingdom, idolatry of course was considered as a crime equally punishable with theft and robbery; and therefore it is easy to see that when at length Romanism was introduced in the Islands and when, as was the case, the rites of that form of worship were looked upon as idolatry, that the government considered these rights as strictly prohibited. The missionaries, perhaps in a crowd of cares, were not sufficiently awake on the subject, nor sufficiently unremittent in their endeavors to enlighten the rulers and to warn them of danger, but it was a work that could not be done at once. Europe did not learn the lesson of religious toleration in one day, and it will take some time yet for the chiefs of these islands to gain clear and distinct ideas on that important subject.

The adoption of the Ten Commandments as the basis of a criminal code called forth of course a storm of wrath from opposing foreigners. But if there had been any ground for objection on account of the tendency above named surely those objections which they urged had no shadow of reason. They were troubled because the Sabbath was to be protected from open acts of desecration and because lewdness in all its shapes was to be punished as crime. The tide of wrath was at its height, as before stated, about the time of the visit of the armed schooner *Dolphin*, and many a lover of Sabbath sports and sensual pleasure at the port of Honolulu rejoiced in the assistance of that man-of-war.

Another method, it seems, was also taken to overthrow the laws. The chiefs assert that both the British and American consuls of that time represented to the young king, a youth then about fourteen years of age, that the right of making laws was solely with him, and that the Regent even in a council of chiefs had no such right and that therefore the laws that had been adopted were null and void. If such indeed was the fact, how inconsistent with their offices as consuls was such gratuitous interference.

Afterwards, (1827), when more definite laws were proposed in a council of the chiefs against murder, theft, adultery, rum-selling and other enormities, the chiefs assert that the British consul took another ground—that they had no right to make laws without the concurrence of Great Britain, and say that he threatened them with the vengeance of his nation if they should presume to make laws independently for themselves. If such was the fact, let the reader judge of its character. But the chiefs had learned to give but little force to such threats. They proceeded to enact in a regular manner laws against murder, theft and adultery. They were united in these laws, and the young king, among others, affixed his name. Other laws were considered and ordered to be printed, but not at that time enacted. These, if I mistake not, were the first regular and definite laws after the manner of civilized nations that ever existed at the Sandwich Islands.

Connected with the law in regard to adultery, some regulations were necessarily made to bring into use the institution of marriage. Previously a wife had many husbands and a husband had many wives, and the union was continued or dissolved almost at pleasure. It was enacted that a husband who had many wives should choose one of them to be his only wife till separated by death; and that he should immediately put away all others, and that a wife who had many husbands should do the same. Less difficulty was experienced than might have been supposed in carrying this regulation into effect—less difficulty by far than Ezra and

Nehemiah speak of in separating the strange wives from among the Jews.

The institution of Christian marriage, lying at the foundation of the family constitution, with all its relative endearments and obligations, had, of course, a very important bearing upon the social condition, civilization and happiness of the people. The chaotic elements of society began to take form. It was an important step upward toward being a people and a moral and Christian nation.

In October, 1829, another very important step was taken. It consisted in the definite and avowed extension of laws by government to foreigners residing at the islands. Laws against murder, theft, licentiousness, retailing ardent spirits, Sabbath-breaking and gambling were issued in the name of the king, the regent and the principal chiefs, and were declared to be in force equally against all persons on the islands, both natives and foreigners. The chiefs had gained gradually both information and strength, both of which were needed, for there were not wanting either residents or visitors who pretended to be exempt from the laws of the kingdom and who threatened the chiefs with the vengeance of their respective governments if punished for transgression. This measure, therefore, of extending the laws to them in a formal and definite manner, though a proceeding of the very plainest and common sense kind, required of the chiefs, under the circumstances, no little courage and decision of character. It required perhaps more firmness and energy than they possessed, and therefore Providence sent to their aid a timely and powerful support.

The American sloop of war Vincennes arrived at Honolulu on the 14th of October, just one week after the proclamation was issued enacting the above named laws and making them binding upon foreigners. At an early interview with the king and chiefs, Capt. Finch, the commander, introduced himself by a written address, as the bearer of a letter and presents from the President of the United States. He then presented, in the name of his government, a pair of globes and a map of the United States to the king; a silver

vase, with her name and the arms of the United States upon it, to the regent; two silver goblets with similar engravings to the princess; and a map of the world each to Boki and Kuakini. The letter of which Capt. Finch was the bearer from the Secretary of the Navy by direction of the President contained some very opportune and important sentiments. It first congratulated the king on the progress of civilization and religion in his dominions—"the true religion—the religion of the Christian's Bible;" and then proceeded to say: "The President also anxiously hopes that peace and kindness and justice will prevail between your people and those citizens of the United States who visit your islands, and that the regulations of your government will be such as to enforce them upon all. Our citizens who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations, violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment. We have heard with pain that this has sometimes been the case, and we have sought to know and punish those who are guilty."

What words could have given a more full and explicit sanction to the important measure of the Hawaiian government which had been taken only a week previous? And who can look at so timely a sanction from a foreign power without recognizing the hand of God. Besides, the words quoted seem to contain a distinct allusion to the misconduct of the *Dolphin*, which we have before narrated, and to express the desire of the President to repair that injury as far as possible by the visit of the *Vincennes*. The chiefs were encouraged in the position they had taken and soon gained an ascendancy and strength in the execution of law upon offending foreigners as well as their own people which they had never before possessed.

But the good regulations of government could not be carried into execution so perfectly as was desired on account of the disorderly conduct of Boki and the company under his influence, who countenanced grog-shops and other haunts of infamy and vice. At length Providence left him and his

followers, as above narrated, to the infatuation and madness of their own minds to consummate their own ruin. Their own rash and ungodly enterprise was made use of to sweep them from the earth.

Neither was this event the end of opposition. Liliha, the wife of Boki, who survived, was one in spirit and practice with her husband. Immediately after the death of her husband, she appeared serious and thoughtful; she and her train attended school and were often seen at the house of worship. Being thus disposed she was cheerfully allowed to succeed her husband in the government of the island. But her reformation was by no means permanent; her habits of intemperance were too strong to be resisted, and intemperance naturally led to factious and disorderly conduct. In 1831, at a time when the principal chiefs were visiting other islands, she went so far as to make warlike preparations and to occasion much alarm. She filled the fort with armed men and collected forces also on various parts of the island. Kinau was the only high chief who was not absent, and she at that time was young and inexperienced. It was a time of much apprehension and distress and prayer was made night and day without ceasing by all who professed to be pious that the God of nations would interpose and avert the impending calamity. It was feared, whether needlessly or not I would not say, that foreigners had pledged themselves to sustain her in a forcible attempt at revolution. That there was ground for some fear and that the Catholic missionaries then at the islands were aware of it, seems to be intimated by the language used in the "*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*," vol. vi, p. 94 and onward. From who else but from those missionaries would information be communicated to that periodical? We quote as follows:

"Kaahumanu had always been ambitious to keep all the authority in her own hands, but her power was counterpoised by Boki, regent of the realm and governor of the young king. Boki was fond of foreigners and showed himself favorable enough to the missionaries [Catholic], though he thought himself obliged to use management with the old

queen. He had a certain number of chiefs on his side. Several Americans and some Englishmen were also on his side, because they were with reason suspicious of Kaahumanu. The two consuls, English and American, were particularly attached to him."

The reader will notice in this quotation that Kaahumanu is represented as an ambitious old woman, scheming to usurp the supreme authority; and that Boki is represented as regent of the realm and governor of the young king, and as having a party on his side against the "old queen;" that the English consul (Mr. Charlton) and the American consul (Mr. Jones) are named as zealous members of the party. The *Annals*, moreover, proceeds to say:

"Such was the state of things at the close of 1829. The old Kaahumanu never forgot her ambitious projects. Shortly after Boki's departure, she attempted to displace all his partisans and deprive them of the dignities which Boki had conferred upon them. They refused compliance, protesting that they would not resign the power entrusted to them except to him from whom they had received it. Moreover, the wife of Boki still held the title of regent and governess of Oahu."

It was the faction here spoken of headed by Liliha, wife of Boki, who made the warlike preparations above mentioned and we can perceive from these quotations how certain foreigners were affected toward that faction. It will be well to keep in mind this fact when we come to speak of the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries by the Hawaiian government.

The chiefs at Maui heard of the hostile movements on Oahu and met in council upon the proper course to be pursued. It was agreed that Hoapili, the father of Liliha, should proceed forthwith to Honolulu and endeavor to dissuade his daughter from her rebellious attempts. He sailed immediately, had an interview and was successful. Kaahumanu with other chiefs and the young king then proceeded to Oahu. Liliha was displaced at once from being governess of the island. And on account of disturbances, Kaahumanu

called to her aid her brother Kuakini (Gov. Adams). He left the island of Hawaii in the charge of Naihe and repaired to Oahu. He acted with much independence and decision, and combining his authority with that of Kaahumanu, succeeded well in enforcing the laws. There was quietness and peace in those days, for grog-shops and gaming houses were closed and the Sabbath was protected. Here we will leave for a while the affairs of government and turn our attention to schools.

During the regency of Kaahumanu, a peculiar system of schools—a system corresponding with the political and religious aspect of the times—sprung up in a very short time, spread rapidly through the islands, even to the remotest villages, and flourished with great popularity and success. At her death it will be seen that for various causes the system began to decline. This system of schools was a very important feature and is worthy of a more minute and graphic description than I shall be able to give.

The schools were of course at central places and mostly with chiefs and their immediate attendants. Young men who made the most rapid proficiency were soon in demand to take charge of other schools. One young man, at least, became attached very soon to each principal chief as a teacher. The train of any high chief was at that time sufficiently numerous to constitute a large school.

Many of the chiefs embracing Christianity and beginning to feel interested for the instruction and improvement of the people generally were not slow to send forth many of their attendants who had learned to read to become teachers in districts more or less remote. Each chief naturally sent teachers to his own particular lands. For political reasons the landed possessions of no high chief were confined to any one island, but lay scattered, here and there a district, on all the islands of the group. Each chief, therefore, sending teachers to his various districts, a system of schools became extended at once throughout the kingdom. Teachers sent by Kaahumanu went not only to various lands on Oahu, but also to Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kauai and Niihau.

So also teachers sent by Kalanimoku, Piia, Kuakini, Hoapili and a dozen other chiefs, became stationed here and there on most of the islands. The head-man of each land where a teacher went was commanded to furnish him with a house to dwell in, with a school house, with kapas and food.

Teachers thus sent out not only gathered schools to instruct in person, but when they had taught a number to read, proceeded to divide their districts into many smaller ones and to multiply schools. Schools being thus geometrically and of course rapidly increased, soon filled the land. One instance may here be given to illustrate many.

A young man named Moo, pipe-lighter to Hoapili, being regarded as a rather bright scholar, Hoapili sent him to Hawaii to be teacher for the district of Puna—a district nearly or quite as large as a county in the state of Massachusetts. He took a central post and collected a school. As soon as his scholars had made a little proficiency he sent out the best of them to the right hand and to the left, to be teachers of other schools, and he continued this course till every village of Puna was furnished with a teacher. A process something after this sort was simultaneously going on from Hawaii to Kauai.

To whatever district a teacher was sent, all the inhabitants of that district were expected to attend school. There was no physical compulsion, but they were told that such was "the thought of the chief," and that such was "the right course." What less could have been said to them? And yet these phrases amounted in their minds to law. The old attended as well as the young, for the idea had not obtained among them that an adult was too old to learn to read. Many indeed who were quite old and grey-headed learned to read the word of God. It was estimated that four-fifths of those who learned to read were over fourteen years of age.

Such teachers as I have named, as a general remark, knew nothing but reading, and were indeed very poor readers, but though they knew but little, and taught but little, yet that very little was much more than the people knew before and was of more value to them than mines of gold and silver.

The missionaries were regarded as the superintendents of schools, so far as their superintendence could reach. The chiefs also exerted a superintendence. They paid particular attention to schools on their frequent tours around the islands, as has already been remarked. But a multitude of schools were so situated as to receive but little care either from missionaries or chiefs.

I have used the term school, for I know of no other, but what were called schools in those days at the islands were scarcely deserving of that name. I will endeavor to describe the thing and leave to my readers to apply such a term as they choose. From the description of one school the character of hundreds that existed throughout the islands may be learned, for they all were substantially the same.

The school house was a structure of poles and sticks, thatched with leaves or grass and differing from the native dwelling house only in being longer, in having more openings for doors and windows and in being more carelessly constructed and more negligently kept. It was without floor, benches, forms, shelves, or any furniture whatever. In some instances the teacher used a three-legged stool, but not often. Dry grass or leaf mats served for every purpose,—for floor, seats, shelves and tables.

The scholars consisted of both sexes and of all ages, from young children to persons old and grey-headed. Mothers, also, came with their babies, tending the little prattlers with one hand and holding a book in the other.

The time of school was from one to two hours a day, toward evening. Even in the days of heathenism, it was a habit of the people to rise early in the morning and to accomplish their work by the middle of the day; then eat, sleep an hour or two, and spend the after part of the day in idle chat, dissipation and sport. The part of the day formerly spent in idleness was naturally chosen as the time for school. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the teacher began to blow his shell as a signal for preparation, and in about an hour or more the people assembled to commence school,—a noble substitution for the idle and vicious prac-

tices to which the close of the day was formerly devoted.

The teacher taught the alphabet, and reading, so far as merely pronouncing the words in a sentence is worthy of that name; of pauses, emphasis, cadence and inflection they knew nothing. At a later period writing on slates was introduced to a considerable extent. The first great aim was, (and was it not a wise one?), to have the mystery of alphabetic letters imparted to all human souls throughout the islands,—to have the art of reading and writing universally understood, as the needful preliminary of future teaching. A multitude of teachers, who could do this work and no more, were simultaneously employed throughout every island of the group. The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain, and the people learned of course no more than the teachers were able to impart, but this little as a work of preparation was of immense importance.

The school books consisted of everything printed in the language, the whole of which for a number of years amounted to only a few pages. The first printing in the language in 1822 consisted of elementary lessons of sixteen pages. The five years following, till January 1827, there were added elementary lessons of four pages, elementary lessons of eight pages, passages of Scripture of four pages, a catechism of eight pages, decalogue of four pages, hymns of sixty pages, and “thoughts of the chiefs,” of eight pages. All of these little works were used in the schools. The scholar came to school with rather a printed page than with a book. In succeeding years from 1828 till near the close of this period, no school books were made strictly so called, except a little arithmetic of eight pages and a first book for children of thirty-six pages, but many portions of the word of God were translated and used in schools. The first portions were Christ’s sermon on the mount, the history of Joseph, Luke’s Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. Other portions soon followed. Near the close of the period in 1832, a geography was added of 216 pages, but under the disadvantage of being unaccompanied with an atlas. Large maps drawn by

hand and suspended in the station school rooms remedied the evil to some extent.

The stated times of examining schools became the great days of the year. For a number of years, while the missionaries were few in number, scholars were collected for examination at some principal place on each island. The schools of Oahu came together at Honolulu; those of Kauai at Waimea; those of Maui at Lahaina; those of south-west Hawaii at Kailua; those of north-east Hawaii at Hilo. These convocations were immense, and they furnished a kind of excitement to the mass of the people, filling in a measure a blank which had been made by the abolition of ancient festivals and public sports. The excitement in the two cases was widely different indeed—a useful interest being substituted for the most debasing scenes of vice and revelry.

Several weeks previous to an examination were spent both by teachers and scholars as a special season of preparation. Months, perhaps, may have passed with scarcely a school, but the stimulus of an approaching examination had power to call in every scholar and to make them day after day patiently attentive to what was taught them.

The time approaches to assemble. Food must be baked for the journey and for the occasion, sufficient to last one or two weeks. The scholar wraps his food in one bundle and his best suit of kapas in another and balances the two with a stick on his shoulder. Men, women and children set out on their way, threading the path in single file with their teacher at their head. They arrive. From fifty to one hundred schools, in the same style, arrive. Some find lodgings with the residents of the town or neighborhood, but most are obliged to construct small huts of leaves or grass, like perhaps what the Israelites threw up in haste and which were afterward commemorated in the feast of tabernacles. The day of examination arrives. The chiefs are present in their gayest dresses and scholars in their newest kapas. No house will contain the assembly. The meeting house is chosen as being the largest. The schools are arranged out of doors

and then led in one after another in single file, examined and suffered to disperse.

The examinations at first were only in the alphabet and in reading. In after years writing on slates and a little arithmetic began to be added. The examinations were of course very superficial, and to a great extent by proxy, for what missionary could give strict and individual attention to several thousand learners. This superficialness accounts for some discrepancies and inconsistencies that exist in the report of readers from year to year; some succeeding years the number given being less than in years preceding.

Thousands of scholars, thus assembled and orderly arranged, filling the largest house and the area outside to some extent around, each with a book or slate in hand, was indeed an imposing and interesting spectacle, especially if viewed in contrast with the benighted and beastly condition in which they were a few years before. If our patrons could only see such a sight they would cheerfully throw in their purses and themselves, too, to forward the work.

An estimate of the number of readers at the islands, from year to year, cannot be given with any due approximation to the truth. Enumerations could not be made with sufficient exactness to be worthy of being reported. Estimates of the number of learners, or of all who attended school, were made from time to time on some of the islands, but not sufficiently correct to be of much value. From the commencement of the mission till 1825, the number of readers had not increased very rapidly, and could then of course be counted. They amounted in all the islands to about 1,500. In 1832, the number of stations and of missionaries had been so far increased that it became practicable to have more thorough examinations and to conduct them in particular districts, thus remedying the evils connected with great convocations. It became practicable also to number the readers. The number definitely ascertained was 23,127, which would make an increase on an average during the seven years of upwards of 3,000 a year, without allowing for the number who died in the meantime. A considerable proportion of this

number could write on slates, and a smaller portion knew the first principles of arithmetic.

The schools, which were scattered over all the islands and more than 900 in number, exerted an important influence in various ways. The instruction afforded was but a small part of the good accomplished. Books, slates, schools—every thing connected with instruction—was inseparably connected in the minds of the people with Christianity. All of course who received books and entered the schools considered themselves as having embraced in some sense the true religion. And the teachers, though many of them were both ignorant and wayward, yet not a few gave to their scholars correct views of the leading truths of the Bible and of the way of life. The teachers and the schools afforded to the missionaries important facilities of communicating with the people, especially at a distance, and were so many links to form a bond of mutual union and obligation. The system of schools was very imperfect, but it was of the character of the times. It is looked back to, not only as having been an interesting feature, but also as having been an efficient means in the hand of God of effecting the first step of a people's rise from the depths of apathy and ignorance.

Another prominent feature of the times of Kaahumanu was the prevalence of moral societies or "tabu meetings," as they were naturally called by the people. They sprang up and flourished, as it were, spontaneously—as the natural growth of tendencies then existing and not as the result of any special effort or design on the part of the missionaries. They were said to have had their origin in an agreement of Kalanimoku and eight or ten others to meet every week for prayer. The little band rapidly increased and became a society. Similar societies, both male and female, were formed at other stations. The members were numbered first by tens, then by hundreds, and soon by thousands. The missionaries may be said to have rather fallen in with the movement than as having originated and urged it.

To these societies no openly immoral person was admitted. All the members engaged to live sober and correct lives

and to attend upon the external duties of the Christian religion. If any member fell into open immorality he was excluded till he should give evidence of reformation. The members met every Friday afternoon, when instruction, admonition and encouragement were imparted to them on various practical subjects.

Another collection of persons met also weekly, and was more select than the moral society. This class consisted of the most hopeful candidates for admission to the church, and they met statedly to receive catechetical instruction on the leading doctrines of Christianity and on subjects of experimental religion.

These organizations were productive of both good and evil. They exerted for a time great influence in promoting external reformation, but they soon began to be regarded as stepping stones to the church; church members being admitted from the catechetical class, and the catechetical class being a selection from the moral society. Many having joined one of these societies, felt that they were in the way to the church and to heaven. The societies therefore became something like a ladder, in their view, on which to climb to heaven by their own efforts, and thus fostering a self-righteous principle, they became exceeding popular, so that the attendance on Friday became even greater than on the Sabbath, and the missionaries, judging that the evils of the societies were beginning to predominate over their good effects, took immediate measures to abolish them.

The number of church members in 1825 was only ten. Added in 1827, thirteen; in 1828, eighty-five; in 1829, one hundred and seventeen; in 1830, one hundred and twelve; in 1831, one hundred and ninety; in 1832, to the General Meeting in June of that year, fifty; in all five hundred and seventy-seven. Of this number about one in one hundred had been excommunicated and about four in one hundred had died. Congregations became immense, on the Sabbath and on other days amounting to several thousand souls, at every missionary station. Schools were popular and well attended, Prayer meetings were thronged and many inquirers by day

and by night flocked to the houses of the missionaries. There were also some seasons of more than special interest which perhaps were worthy of the name of revivals.

In the meantime the number of laborers in the field began to increase somewhat in proportion to the whitening harvest, three several reinforcements arriving in 1828, 1831 and 1832.

Here it would be in place to give a narrative of the arrival of Catholic missionaries at the islands, and of the treatment which they received from government, but as the subject will necessarily come up again as we advance in the history, it may be better to reserve the whole account and give it at once in a separate chapter.

The tide of prosperity which we have attempted to describe continued full and unchecked till the death of Kaahumanu in 1832.

Kaahumanu increased in knowledge as she advanced in years—died in peace, and left a name that is precious to the hearts of the missionaries and to all her people.

I remember the expression of her feelings on the arrival of a reinforcement of missionaries a few days previous to her death. The scene is as fresh to my mind as though it were the occurrence of yesterday. She was in ill health at the time and did not attend upon their formal reception. As they were introduced into her room she was sitting, neatly attired, in an arm chair, and evidently quite feeble. She very affectionately gave her hand to the newly arrived missionaries and raised her languid eyes, whilst tears of gratitude and joy rolled down her pallid countenance. She remained in silence, entirely overwhelmed with emotion.

During her last sickness, which continued but a few days, she manifested much pleasure in hearing the Scripture read and in uniting with her teachers in prayer.

In her distress she did not forget the good of the people over whom she had reigned. She called the young king and gave him her parting counsel with earnestness, affection and tears. She also nominated Kinau to be her successor as

Premier of the realm, a nomination which the king afterwards confirmed.

Some of her words, uttered in the presence of her attending missionary were these: "The way that I am going—the house is prepared—send the thoughts thither with rejoicing." At another time she repeated a few lines of a native hymn:

"Here am I now O Jesus,
O smile upon me now."

In the same state of mind and the same spirit she said with composure and peace, "I will go to Him, and shall be comforted."

How pleasant and glorious the death scene and funeral solemnities of Kaahumanu when viewed in contrast with the frantic, hideous and disgustful practices of their heathen state! I was on the island at the time of the mournful event. There were, indeed, some exhibitions of immoderate grief and bursts of wailing. But for the most part, true sorrow, order and Christian solemnity characterized the scene. An appropriate sermon was preached to the royal family and as many of the immense throng as could come within the reach of the speaker's voice—the remains of the deceased were conveyed to the sepulchre in stillness and quiet. Tongue cannot express the immense contrast between this Christian mourning and the confusion, horror, and untold abominations which in their heathen state invariably attended the death of a distinguished chief.

CHAPTER VII.

NATURE OF THE MISSIONARY WORK.

Kinds of Labor—Obstacles—Terms Invented to Express Religious Truth—False Notions—Telling Thoughts—The Practice Described—Experiences—Deceptiveness—Distribution of Bibles, etc.—Preaching Tours—Houses of Worship—Methods of Instruction Used—Efforts for Schools—Toilsome yet Encouraging Work.

Having given a continuous narrative of the Sandwich Islands' Mission till we have arrived to days of success, prosperity and permanency, it is now time, perhaps, to introduce my readers into the midst of us and show something of the interior of our work—how we preach, how we itinerate, and what methods we take in teaching. In doing this it will also be necessary to give some idea of the obstacles in the way of communicating truth to heathen minds and of the methods adopted by missionaries in overcoming those obstacles. These topics have been touched upon incidentally in the narrative already, but they are deserving of a more separate and careful consideration.

Our Savior once said to His disciples: "Every scribe which is instructed into the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." The great work of ministers is to bring the gospel into contact with the minds of men, and impress its claims upon the conscience and the heart. In doing this, much, very much, is left to human discretion. The Savior, who made the mind, and knew well its philosophy, has prescribed no definite method nor enjoined any particular way of communicating truth. He did not consider it wise to prescribe a particular way of making known the gospel to all nations, kindreds and grades of men. He has left it to His ministers, aided by the Holy Spirit, to study the prejudices, mode of thought, and peculiar condition of mind among the people where they labor and devise methods of

communicating truth best adapted to their circumstances. He has told us, moreover, that wisdom is requisite in the work of winning souls and commanded us to be wise as serpents, cautious as the fisherman, and as scribes well instructed to bring forth out of our treasury things new and old. The Savior, in His methods of instruction, exemplified these precepts and the apostles to some extent copies His example.

In accordance with this thought, the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands have, at all stages of the mission, felt themselves called upon to institute a thorough, constant and prayerful inquiry respecting the most advantageous ways of making known the gospel to a heathen people. The methods in use by them cannot be appreciated without some previous knowledge of the obstacles in a heathen's mind with which they are obliged to contend. Let us, then, look a moment at these obstacles.

1. The first obstacle I shall mention is one that cannot be easily expressed except negatively. It is an almost entire destitution of the power of reflection—of originating thought, or of carrying on a continuous chain of reasoning. Among the uneducated heathen, (I speak not of those trained in schools), instances are very rare of those who have strength and discipline of mind enough to connect three links of a chain together, and come to a satisfactory conclusion. There are instances of native shrewdness that may surprise and startle you, but very little of the power of reasoning. They are just the opposite of what we call a thinking people. The ignorant mass, except when operated upon by God's Spirit, exhibit a vacant and unmeaning stare which indicates the emptiness within. At ordinary times, try every mode of expression with such minds—task ingenuity to the utmost, and if the idea you attempt to communicate is at all an abstruse one, you may find, after all your efforts, that it has not been in the least apprehended. There is an indolence of mind—a listlessness confirmed into a settled habit—a powerlessness of thought on intellectual subjects induced by years of inapplication. Mental strength reels and stag-

gers from long enervation. This is true of the mass, and the exceptions among the uneducated are very few. But this is not the most discouraging trait of a heathen's mind. If it were so, the task of enlightening it would be comparatively easy.

2. Another obstacle may be imperfectly termed a destitution of ideas and a consequent destitution of words on the subject of true religion. Centuries of heathenism had done the work of devastation most efficiently. They had swept away the idea of the true God, and buried all His attributes in oblivion. When the Sandwich Islanders heard the names Jehovah, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit they substituted at once the names of three of their former gods. A chief of an island in the South Pacific gave them as names to his children. The Marquesians had no name for a god higher than they give to a frantic, hideous and half-beastly prophet or juggler who inhabits the forests and receives human sacrifices. The Sandwich Islanders and Society Islanders had no name for a superhuman being too high to be applied to the departed ghosts of sensual and blood-stained chiefs. Many heathen nations have no term expressive of a higher being than deified warriors. To these gods, of course, they attach the same attributes which pertain to them here on earth. If a missionary, then, wishes to speak of the high and holy God, what terms shall he use? There is no term in the language. If he uses the name applied to their low and vile gods it will mislead. If he use an English, Hebrew, or Greek word it will not be understood. If he uses the heathen name for a god, and endeavor to elevate the idea and guard it by attaching proper attributes, where shall he find terms for these attributes? He wishes to say—self-existent and external:—the Sandwich Islanders, (I speak of them now in a state of heathenism), had no such ideas and no such terms. He wishes to say holy:—the Sandwich Islanders had no notion of holiness, and no word for it. He wishes to express God's justice:—they had some idea of justice, but exceedingly inadequate, and their word for it was equally inexpressive. He wishes to say:—gracious and mer-

ciful; and here, too, he is perplexed:—the highest idea they had of a merciful man was what we term a good-natured man. So, if he wish to speak of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, of the immortality of the soul, or of any of the graces of the Spirit, such as repentance, faith, hope, joy, peace,—he finds himself in the same difficulty. Such ideas having been obliterated for ages, the terms also expressing such ideas had long been lost. And, in consequence of this destitution of terms, missionaries are obliged in their conversation, their preaching, and in their translations of the Scriptures, too, to use words nearest allied to the sense they would express, though far from conveying the precise idea at first, or till the meaning has become fixed by frequent use and frequent explanation.

In many instances they succeed, in a measure, by circumlocution; in others they use a sort of patch-work of native words. For instance: “*manao*” means thought, and “*io*” means true or real;—so the combination, “*manaoio*,” is used for faith. Again, “*manao*” means thought, and “*lana*” means buoyant,—so the combination, “*manaolana*,” is made by us to express hope. “*Ala*” means to rise, “*hou*” means again, and “*ana*” is a participial termination,—so we made “*alahouana*” to signify the rising again, or the resurrection. We are obliged to manufacture many of the most important words expressive of religious subjects. It is perplexing to the ignorant people, but it is unavoidable. Then, again, in some cases we introduce words of English, Greek, and Hebrew origin.

Such being the case, how can it be expected that the heathen should understand a large portion of the important terms expressive of the nature of God, of true religion, and pure morality? They cannot till the ideas conveyed by these terms have been first communicated by a patient and thorough course of inductive reasoning—just as a child is taught the meaning of such words as philosophy, botany, and astronomy. And to do this with no common ground to stand upon—to convey ideas to which they have been entire strangers from time immemorial, and expressive of which there is not a

word in the language, this is a toil of which those who dwell in a Christian land can have but little conception.

3. But there is another trait allied to this which I must mention. Not only are the heathen destitute of ideas and terms on the subject of true religion and pure morality, but on the other hand their minds are preoccupied with false notions which have grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength. And who can estimate the influence of erroneous ideas imbibed in infancy and matured in manhood? If we pronounce it small, we betray a gross ignorance of the forming power of early education. For the heathen early imbibe, as it were by absorption, notions and sentiments the very reverse of what the Bible contains. The influence of this early bias is such that even in individuals and nations where the outward practices of heathenism are forsaken, the prevalence of heathen notions is still very considerable. Could we, in some mysterious way, be brought into the interior of their minds and accurately measure the corrupting sentiments which remain, we should start back in horror and amazement.

I have often wished that I could be introduced for a moment within a heathen's soul and see how he thinks and feels. I have no doubt that I should be greatly surprised. For, suppose a heathen nation has thrown away their idols and acknowledged one God instead of many, still their notions of the nature of God, of the manner of propitiating His favor, of departed souls, and of almost every point of morality and religion, are to a painful extent the same as before. Therefore the utmost attention is required in the missionary at familiar and careful illustration, that he do not inculcate wrong sentiment instead of truth. Without such special care, he may preach respecting the true God and they to a great extent measure what he says by their notions of false gods, for false gods are all they have in mind;—he may tell of departed spirits, and their minds recur to the wandering ghosts;—he may speak of sin, and the idea they get be that of detection or misfortune;—he may talk of humility and love to God, and they understand a crouching sycophancy

to receive his favor, just such as they are accustomed to exhibit when approaching a chief. Their ideas and those of men in Christian lands run in very different channels.

An instance may illustrate my meaning. At the Mission Seminary it is customary for the scholars to meet once a week in the presence of their teachers and discuss some subject of practical interest. I remember a discussion whether it was "pono"—right, or "hewa"—wrong, for parents to give away their children—a practice common among them. The debate was of some length, and it was obvious, throughout the whole, that the prominent idea of right with them was merely convenience, and their idea of wrong mere inconvenience. And the conclusion to which they came was that it was "pono," not "hewa," to alienate their children. I cannot believe that they pronounced the practice "pono" in our sense of the word right, but merely in the sense of convenience. This is but one instance among many to show how confused, indistinct and inadequate the views of the heathen are on moral subjects. They have by no means the clear and forcible impression of the great ideas of righteousness and sin which are indelibly stamped on Christian countries. This is a very great obstacle, but one that those who are called to teach in Christian countries cannot appreciate.

4. There is another trait allied to this, but sufficiently prominent to be separately noticed. Under the former system of idol worship, the people gained access to the gods only through the priests. They were regarded as the mediators or intercessors, and the people imagined that if they could succeed in pleasing the priests, they should readily find acceptance with the gods. Of course they approached the priests with much show of humility and loaded them with presents.

Idolatry, it is true, has long since been abolished, but it is too evident that a notion somewhat similar to that I have named still lingers about them. It can be accounted for only from the permanency of early notions and the strength of habit. There are instances of individuals, even at this late period, who seem to act under the belief that if they can

succeed in pleasing the missionaries something material is gained toward receiving the favor of God. The crowding of the people about the house of the missionary in the days of Kaahumanu was not altogether to obtain instruction of the way of life, but in many instances to "tell a thought," and gain the good opinion of the missionary. This practice, as I think, did not obtain chiefly from an intent to deceive, but from ignorance and from the influence of the former notions and customs to which I have alluded.

Take an extreme case, such as often used to occur. A company of ignorant backwoodsmen assemble together and it is proposed to visit the missionary and "tell a thought." One of the company furnishes his more ignorant companions with a sentence or two, which they commit to memory, and then march down to tell it to the missionary. They approach. The missionary looks from his window and sees them slowly wending their way in single file down the acclivity, perhaps, of some little eminence. Their movement and their countenances indicate their object. The sight is full of the ludicrous and the painful and the missionary is at a loss whether to smile at the one or to weep over the other. They arrive—seat themselves about the missionary and fix their eyes upon the ground. One of the number expresses the thought they had agreed upon, which is a confession of sin, love for the Bible, or something of the kind, says—"O ko makou manao hookahi ia," (this is the thought of us all), and then they arise to depart. It is vain to attempt to get their ears at such a time. Their minds are intent upon their own thought and their eyes are watching whether its effect upon you is favorable. Notwithstanding all the missionary may say to undeceive them and convince them of sin, they go away with something of a feeling of self-satisfaction and meritoriousness.

At the present time a case so gross as this does not occur, but not many years since, in the days of Kaahumanu particularly, instances of the kind were common and even now different shades of the same custom are quite observable. There have been times when, if we would have allowed it,

our houses would have been crowded, not only by day, but during the night too, by persons desirous to make known their thoughts. It requires much discretion to discourage the practice, and at the same time receive the visits of those who are seriously inquiring the way of life. Nothing in all our missionary labors occasions us so much anxiety and pain. At a time of unusual interest, crowd after crowd, from early dawn to the midnight hour, throng the house of the missionary to converse, as they say, respecting their souls. Some, yea, many of them, are sincere inquirers and need to be directed in the way to Jesus, but not a few, even now, come from self-righteous motives or from force of custom. The course of duty in such cases is exceedingly perplexing and painful. It has occasioned untold solicitude in times of powerful revival.

Many of the ignorant natives, too, in days of ignorance not entirely passed, not only came and told their thoughts, but, in accordance with previous custom, accompanied their thoughts with presents. They seemed to think that in this way they could make a stronger impression in their favor.

Take a case of this kind. As I look from my study window, I see a poor ignorant native approaching my door with a bunch of bananas, a bundle of figs, a turkey, or some gift of equal value. I am sensible from his very appearance of the object of his visit and my soul is sickened and chilled at the thought of such delusion. He enters my door, and I endeavor, by the plainest conversaton, to open the eyes of the poor islander and to tear from him his false notions, but all in vain. A few days after I see him approaching me with a solemn countenance and bearing on his shoulder an additional present. And, notwithstanding all I can say, and in the most pointed manner, unless the convincing power of God's Spirit interposes, he will continue to seek salvation in this deluded way month after month and year after year. A desire to merit salvation—to construct a ladder and climb to heaven—is a prominent trait of all men the world over. It is so with the heathen. O, how many have I seen plodding on in this deluded course!

I have in my eye a certain chief. Other chiefs had become hopefully pious and had united with the church, and this chief had a desire to be numbered with them. He frequented the house of the missionary to tell his thoughts and to bestow his presents. For a long time he persevered in this course. At length he came to the missionary and with much earnestness expressed his mind somewhat as follows: "I have, for a long time, visited your house day after day. I have approached you with humility and expressed my thoughts with sighing and with tears. I have brought presents of every kind, and I have carefully observed every form of public and private worship." He was discouraged—exceedingly chagrined at his failure, and showed his hollow-heartedness by relapsing at once into a state of immorality. This is one instance among many.

This practice of thought telling to gain the favor of the missionary, and thereby find acceptance with God is so thoroughly inwrought by the force of former customs that some shades of it are observable even in those who are truly pious.

A member of my congregation gave evidence of true conversion and was admitted to the church. The following week I observed that almost all who came to converse with me used nearly the same language—there seemed to be a stereotyped thought for the whole, and on examination I found that it was the substance of the last conversation which the newly-admitted member had with me just previous to her entering the church. She had communicated it to others as a thought of some prevalency, and therefore each adopted it as his own.

This trait is so conspicuous that we place much less dependence than we otherwise should on the experience of new converts. Neither do we confide altogether in their tears. It is not an unknown case that a native comes into your room and seats himself on the floor with his head bowed down and his tears dropping like rain. He confesses his sins in the fullest terms and asks your prayers. He leaves the room, and when perhaps a few rods from your door falls in with some companion and laughingly tells him he has been to converse with

the missionary and thinks he has succeeded in making a favorable impression. Our main evidence of conversion is a humble and conscientious deportment day after day—not so much the experiences they may tell nor the tears they shed.

The missionaries are all fully aware of these deceptive appearances among the natives—are constantly on their guard on account of them—and feel at all times a deep and painful solicitude—an untold responsibility. In admitting members to the church they can only act according to the best of their judgment and console themselves with the thought that the Lord knoweth them that are His.

Having thus glanced at some of the more prominent features of the heathen's mind, we are prepared now to consider some of the methods used by missionaries to communicate truth to such minds.

1. The distribution of the Sacred Scriptures and of religious books and tracts. Much good has been done in this way. It is true that the distribution of Bibles and tracts among the unthinking heathen, as many of the Sandwich Islanders still are, is quite a different thing from their distribution in an enlightened land,—that a heathen's intellect is not materially changed by teaching him to read;—that the eyes and lips may read while scarcely a thought occupies the mind. It is, indeed, true that great obstacles to the acquisition of correct knowledge still remain—obstacles so great as can only be overcome by the presence of the living teacher, who shall call up the attention of the reader to the meaning of what he peruses, explain the passage by the most simple illustrations and apply it with minuteness and particularity. All this is true, and yet, as instruments in the hands of the missionary, printed Bibles and tracts have accomplished very much among the Sandwich Islanders. In the form of school-books they have been of immense service. Well-qualified men, indeed, must bear a due proportion to the supply of Bibles and tracts. By merely furnishing a supply of Bibles and tracts we cannot free ourselves from the blood of the heathen—we cannot thus accomplish the main work of the world's conversion. It is absolutely indispensable that a

great body of men go in person and teach the bible to the heathen. We must never forget that the main thing, which cannot be commuted for any other effort, is to teach the heathen with one's own lips. This point being secured, then furnish those who go with bibles, tracts and every facility for their work. The only caution needed is that every one feel, Providence permitting, that the first claim upon him is to go and the next to furnish facilities.

2. I pass on to give some account of itinerant preaching. Before a description, however, it may be well to remark that minds like those of the heathen—obtuse and entangled by error, need “line upon line”—the most familiar instructions, often repeated, and presented in every variety of form that ingenuity can devise. Concentration of efforts on individual minds—the bringing of gospel light to burn and blaze at particular points, rather than scattering it over an extended field, affords the best hope so far as means are concerned of overcoming the obstacles I have described. Yet itinerant preaching has important uses, and must not be given up. At the Sandwich Islands it tends to bind the people of remote districts to us, and exerts a general influence which is of much service.

I wish I could give you some idea of our preaching tours. At some stations they may be taken on horseback—at others they must be taken on foot. I will speak of tours in Hilo and Puna, districts in which I was called to labor for a number of years. My house was situated near the boundary line of the two districts—Puna stretching in one direction about forty miles, and Hilo extending in the opposite direction about thirty miles.

In making the tour of Puna, you first provide yourself with two gourd shells of good water, containing about a bucket apiece. You balance these on a short pole or stick which you place on the shoulder of one of your attendants. You then fill two calabashes with changes of raiment and small provisions and balance them on the shoulder of another attendant. You tie a pair of sandals of dried bull's hide on the bottom of your

shoes and take care to place several other pairs among your baggage, for you are to travel over fields of sharp-pointed lava, and a common pair of shoes would serve you but a short time. Then with a native Testament and hymn-book in your pocket and an umbrella in your hand to shield you from a tropical sun, you set out on your way. You arrive at the first village and sit down perhaps under a grove of cocoanut trees. A shell is blown and the people assemble. You deliver a short address of thirty minutes, perhaps under the trees and perhaps in a school-house; make various inquiries about schools, books and church members; and then pass on to the next village or grove of trees and preach again a short discourse. After passing six or seven villages and preaching as many sermons, it is night-fall, and you turn your attention to food and rest.

Food, after the native form of cooking, you may find in abundance, but it will be a large hog baked whole in the earth, a calabash of fermented "poi," or something of the kind, and will not probably please your taste. You look about for a chicken perhaps—roast it on some coals, and that, together with the sweet potato or the "kalo," and some biscuit from your calabash, makes a palatable meal. Thus food is easily obtained.

To find rest is rather more difficult. A mat, braided of the lauhala leaf, something like the palmetto, is the bed, a small pillow you usually carry with you, a sheet of bark cloth is the covering. Such a bed, in a warm climate and after the fatigue of a day's journey, you may enjoy as a luxury and sleep soundly and quietly. A tour through Puna usually occupies a week or ten days, and the traveling is entirely on foot under an oppressive sun and over many fields of rugged lava.

The tour in the direction of Hilo occupies about the same time, and is attended with equal difficulties, but of a different kind. Here we have deep ravines to pass. Some of the ravines are very precipitous and difficult to climb—and some are immense—the descent and ascent being, as I should judge, at least a quarter of a mile. If a freshet occurs dur-

ing your journey, then you are obliged to wade and swim the rivers which flow down these numerous and deep ravines. The rivers are rapid, and the method we sometimes adopt in passing them is this: We first obtain a strong rope; an expert swimmer takes one end of the rope and attempts to swim directly across the river; he is carried down diagonally, but succeeds in gaining the opposite shore. The rope is then drawn straight across and well secured; then plunging into the river and pulling hand over hand you easily pass over.

I have merely described tours at one station; at other stations they are somewhat different, performed some on foot, some in canoes, and some on horseback; but it would be needless perhaps to attempt any further description.

These tours exert a general influence which cannot be dispensed with, but we rely mostly, under God, upon instructions often repeated, week after week and year after year, at permanent stations.

No idea can be more visionary than that entertained by some, that the proclamation of the gospel by a few individuals, traveling through the length and breadth of heathen lands, is sufficient to convert them. Effects must take place without their appropriate causes before such results can be anticipated. It is visionary to think that such beings as the heathen are would be ready to understand, appreciate, and receive the gospel as soon as they hear it. There is a great mistake on this point. No baseless dream of the night could be more unfounded. It is visionary, too, to imagine that converts from a state of heathenism, the feeblest and most wayward children of all Christ's flock, would be able to live consistent and Christian lives without the constant instructions and unremitted watchfulness of a pastor. It is to be feared that those who dream of converting the world by a few men traversing the nations and preaching as they go indulge such a thought because they wish to convert the world cheap. It would be disastrous to Christians to convert the world cheap—as disastrous as for a man to gain a livelihood without labor. God will not suffer the work to be done easily. It has already cost the precious blood of His only Son, and it is

certainly worthy of all the wealth of the church, and the labor, toil, and blood, if necessary, of every redeemed sinner. The treasures of the church shall be literally emptied, and a large body of stationed laborers permanently planted in every land before the latter-day glory. We must sow in proportion as we hope to reap. The church has sown much at the Sandwich Islands and is now reaping much. It must be so over the wide world.

3. We proceed, then, to notice the stated preaching of the gospel at permanent stations and to give some account, so far as experience has taught us, of the most advantageous methods of conducting it. It is natural for a missionary, when he first commences his work abroad, to fall into that argumentative or didactic method of preaching to which he has been accustomed in his own land, but experience soon teaches him what common sense at first dictates, that this is a method ill adapted to the character of his audience; that it is choosing a dull iron, and putting to it more strength, instead of using a little discretion which is profitable to direct. A missionary might in this way waste the bone and sinews of his constitution and consume his precious time, and after years of toil find to his confusion that his hearers are familiar with various words and phrases and can mimic the use of them, but have little notion of their meaning. Missionaries, therefore, the longer they are on the ground, become more and more convinced that the inductive method of reasoning, familiarly conducted in the conversational style with simple and apt illustrations, is the surest way of access to heathen minds; that it succeeds best in eradicating false notions and conveying clear and distinct ideas, and that it is inferior to no other in impressing the claims of the gospel on the conscience and the heart.

Let me try to portray before you a Sandwich Island congregation and in the most familiar words tell how we preach.

Most of the houses of worship, in the days of Kaahumanu, were thatched buildings—large, but frail. There are now several stone buildings, but in powerful revivals some of them have been deserted as being too small for the thou-

sands who assembled. The thatched buildings are destitute of floors, but the ground is covered with dry grass and then neatly spread with mats braided from the "lauhala" leaf. A few persons, as chiefs and head men, sit in chairs or on benches, but the great mass of the congregation sit closely crowded on the mats—from the feet of the speaker as far as his voice can reach—so closely crowded that as you look over them you see little but their heads—a forest, as it were, of several thousand heads. As the missionary rises up before this crowded assembly, an immense array of eyes are at once turned upon him. He feels an indescribable responsibility and a sense, too, of unearthly joy at the glorious privilege of preaching Christ to so many listeners.

I describe not only my own practice, but the practice of some others when I say that the missionary chooses one single truth and lays himself out to illustrate it. One prominent truth is altogether better than two in preaching to heathen minds. The missionary, instead of attempting to pour out a flood of thought which would merely confuse, bends all his efforts and ingenuity to illustrating the particular truth he has chosen. He tries analogy—he tries sober and judicious anecdote—he presents the particular truth in various attitudes—turns it over, as it were, on this side and on that, that it may be clearly seen. And after fifteen or twenty minutes' attempt of this kind he pauses, perhaps, and begins to ask questions of this and that person in the congregation to see if the doctrine has been clearly apprehended. If it seems still to be involved in mist, he makes another attempt at illustration and again makes inquiries. When he is sensible that he is clearly understood, then he follows up the truth with a short, direct and practical appeal.

At other times he takes a different course. He selects his passage of Scripture, and, instead of deducing a prominent truth, he begins by asking questions of this individual and of that on the meaning of the passage and its practical application; elicits thought in this way, and then follows on with remarks, interspersed with questions and concludes with an animated and direct application.

These, and other like methods of the familiar and conversational style, we find altogether the most successful in communicating truth to heathen minds.

Some missionaries are in the habit of reviewing on Wednesday the sermons of the preceding Sabbath, and the people, expecting it, prepare themselves for it. They bring slates to meeting on the Sabbath and sketch down the principal thoughts and illustrations. In this way they fix upon their minds much that they hear. As you return from church, one and another may run after you and pull you by the elbow, saying, "Ua haule kahi poo"—(a certain head has fallen), and ask you to state it again. In this way they secure all the "poo's" for the Wednesday review. The review makes them more attentive, clears up points before obscure, fixes the truth upon the memory, and impresses it more deeply upon the heart.

These remarks do not apply in full to the course adopted by all missionaries. Each one, of course, is governed by his own particular talent.

4. From these remarks on public preaching you will anticipate what I am about to say respecting another method of communicating truth, that of catechetical instruction. I embrace under this term Bible classes, Sabbath schools, and all familiar investigation of religious and moral topics in the way of questions and answers. That this mode of instruction is of great use where gross ignorance, dullness of apprehension and strong prejudice are to be contended with not only appears reasonable from the obvious principles of common sense, but is abundantly confirmed by experience. It calls up and fixes attention, elicits thought, and brings to light ignorance and error, with the opportunity on the spot to enlighten the one and correct the other. This method, then, when accompanied, as it ought to be, with solemnity, unction, personal application and earnest appeal is eminently successful, under God, in grappling with the appalling obstacles of a heathen's mind. I need not here give a familiar description of our Sabbath schools and Bible classes.

They so nearly resemble those in other lands as to make it unnecessary.

We extend this conversational investigation to the manners, habits, usages, and every-day practices of the people to ferret out what is right and what is wrong. The whole fabric of heathen society, political, domestic, and religious, is based on the most absurd and rotten principles. There must be a tearing up of the very foundation and a building anew of the whole superstructure. Unless much of this work is done, we must ever complain of inconsistent Christians, and sinners remain unconvinced of their manifold transgressions. In doing this work, a familiar and conversational examination of particular points, thoroughly conducted with the Bible in hand, is the most effectual means.

5. There is one other method to which I will here just allude and treat of more fully hereafter, and that is, efforts with the young in the form of schools, religious instruction, and systematic training. In adults, where torpidity of mind has become a habit, where erroneous notions, early implanted, have become inveterately fixed, and where the inflexibility incident to age has become established, the prospect of imparting clear ideas of gospel truth is comparatively cheerless. With aid from on high, the task is not altogether hopeless—many adults have been hopefully converted, but with the young is our greatest hope. The adult population of 600,000,000 of our race are ensnared by Satan—wound in a thousand coils, and in twenty years the rising generation will be so, unless the churches increase their efforts a thousand fold. If there is a fact in the wide world that ought to start us from our slow-paced efforts it is this. It should make our hearts to throb with agony and call forth all the effort that our natures can sustain.

Let me say here, for the narrative suggests it, that the missionary work is a work of sober, patient, prayerful and persevering toil. It is not a work of romance, but a business of a humble and self-denying form. It requires inexhaustible patience and unwearied application.

Again let me say, a vast number of laborers are needed.

The work is inconceivably great, peculiarly difficult, and emphatically toilsome. One man can do but very little of it before the grave opens to receive him. The immense and arduous task of instructing and elevating 600,000,000 of low, vile, and ignorant heathen cannot be done with a little labor or a small amount of means. There is no danger yet that we shall be debarred the angelic honor and heavenly luxury of laboring, giving and going. We can have a share in the glorious enterprise. There is room enough yet for all your wealth and all your efforts—stock in the bank of God to be obtained, so that you can make the profitable investment of a hundred per cent. in this world and in the world to come life everlasting.

Let me say, too, the work of laboring for the heathen is an encouraging work. There are obstacles, indeed, various and great. But God's Spirit can overcome them. Nothing is more evident than the insufficiency of human means to contend with the obstacles I have portrayed, but the power of the Holy Ghost knows no limit. Under the Holy Spirit, the stupid become attentive—the ignorant begin to think—and those of but little conscience begin to feel, and feel deeply. I take delight in describing the various and appalling obstacles, for the greater they are, the more sublime the power of divine grace in overcoming them. Let it not be said of any class of men on earth that they are too stupid for God's Spirit to operate upon. O, what displays of divine power have there been at the Sandwich Islands—how evident and prevailing! When we take into account the condition of heathen minds, we are forced to break forth in strong exclamation at the wonderful exhibition of Almighty power. Let us be encouraged, then, to toil for the heathen. And let us remember that the time is short,—much is to be done, and here is not our rest. Let us deliberately and cheerfully choose a life of patient and humble application in the work of Christ while breath remains and be content to look upward and say: "God give me rest in Heaven."

CHAPTER VIII.

POWER OF THE GOSPEL TESTED.

The Crisis—End of the Regency—Apparent Reverse—Good Results—Failure of School System—Timely Arrival of Rev. J. Diell—North-west Coast and Marquesas Visited—Gradual Gain from the Shock of 1833—Fall of the Princess—Providential Interpositions.

We have arrived in the narrative of events at that period when the power of true religion at the Sandwich Islands was brought to the test—and when its hold upon the nation was proved to be genuine, deep and permanent. This crisis forms an important era in the history of the nation.

After the death of Kaahumanu, the people had no longer before them the steadfast and Christian example of a supreme ruler. Kinau, daughter of Kamehameha by Hoapiliwahine, became her successor as Premier of the realm, but not long as regent, for the king soon began to assume in person the reins of government. Kinau had embraced the Christian religion and was consistent in her deportment, but she did not possess the mature character, dignity and authority of Kaahumanu. Coming into office just at the period when the young king, then reckless and giddy, was beginning to act for himself, she needed great wisdom and influence—more indeed than she could be supposed to possess. Perplexity and disaster were, of course, expected.

The young king had acquired at the house of Boki a relish for pleasure and a taste, too, for wine and ardent spirits. After the death of Boki, Liliha, his wife, continued to have some care of the king, and her influence upon him was no less injurious than that of her husband. Neither were there wanting foreign residents of winning address and imposing pretensions who were ready to lend their influence to lead the king into foolish sports, dissipation and intemperance.

It was also an unpropitious circumstance that there was not upon the islands any person deemed fit to be united with

the king in marriage. There was no female chief of high standing near his age, and an alliance with a person of low rank was opposed by the chiefs as disastrous to the sanctity of noble blood. Illicit and informal connections soon took place, leading on to licentiousness, with its many attendant evils. The restraints of religion and the restraints of the sober-minded chiefs soon became alike unwelcome. An occasion only was wanting to develop opposition, and an occasion did not long delay.

Near the commencement of the year 1833, the king wished to purchase a brig which was offered for \$12,000. Kinau, after consulting other chiefs, refused to comply, thinking it ruinous to increase the debts of the nation, which were already pressing heavily upon the people. The king was evidently displeased that his wish should be thus controlled and showed his disaffection by avoiding the society of the more influential chiefs and by associating with young and dissipated companions. He purchased ardent spirits and enticed some and commanded others to drink. He revived also ancient sports and practices with all their lewd and vile associations.

Hoapili hastened to Honolulu to rescue the king from evil counselors, to dissuade him from his evil courses, and to induce him, if possible, to remove to Lahaina, where there were fewer temptations. On his arrival, the king assembled the chiefs and people, declared the Regency to be at an end, and that he, in his own person, would henceforth exercise the supreme power. It had been rumored that he intended to appoint the wife of Boki as his principal agent, but when the time came he shrunk from such a step and named Kinau. His companions inquiring why he had not done as he intended, he replied: "Very strong is the kingdom of God"—meaning that the cause of Christianity was so firmly established at the islands that it would be perilous to proceed that far in opposition.

The princess for a time stood firm on the side of Christianity and used her influence to reclaim her brother. The sober chiefs warned, entreated and admonished. Christians

in his train were resolute and faithful, and yet loyal and affectionate. Thus various influences combined to operate as a check and to keep back the king from any official and public acts against the Christian religion. He treated the missionaries with uniform kindness and respect. It was, however, fully understood throughout the islands that the supreme authority did not, as formerly, require good morals nor encourage piety.

In the meantime, the novelty of Christianity had worn away, and through the progress of light and truth the people had begun to see the humiliating nature of its doctrines and the self denying character of its duties. Like all ignorant people, too, they were ready for something new.

For a time, then, there appeared something like a sad reverse. The missionaries had all along expected it, and almost desired it; for religion was suffering from too great popularity. Congregations on the Sabbath were diminished—many schools were deserted and some companies of men revived, for a time, their heathen worship. At Honolulu, the grog shops were opened and in various parts of the islands rude distilleries were put in operation. Some few who had been teachers of schools and professors of religion now became leaders in wickedness and were constantly about the king—prejudicing his mind against Christianity and leading him astray.

But the reverse was merely apparent and temporary. The missionaries were made to feel more than before their entire dependence upon God. They were much at the throne of grace. They asked wisdom—trusted in God—and redoubled their efforts, and in a few months it was seen that the reverse only showed the deep hold which Christianity had gained upon the nation. The king, after his efforts to throw off the restraints of true religion and to revive heathen sports and practices, was forced to exclaim, as already quoted, “The kingdom of God is very strong.”

The Christian religion was shaken at this time that it might settle down to a more permanent basis. Before, the mass of the people had been carried along by the current.

Now they were led to stop—inquire—and act independently. And, after all their inquiries, they found that Christianity had claims that they could not resist—that they must yield assent to its excellence and divine authority, however much opposed to the selfish feelings of their carnal hearts. True religion, then, gained in purity, permanency and power from the apparent reverse which took place.

Even those companies in secluded parts of the islands who attempted for a short time to revive idolatry were of themselves so convinced of the vanity and foolishness of their ceremonies as to be unable to continue them. They could not boldly hold up their faces and advocate a system of idol-worship even though their carnal hearts longed to return to it. They had too much light and however much they might wish to extinguish it, it was beyond their power to do so.

I will relate one incident of many to illustrate this fact.

In Puna, a district at that time under my missionary superintendence, and about thirty miles from my place of residence, some young men took advantage of the state of things to bring themselves into notice. They devised a system of religion half Christian and half heathen. They promulgated that there were three gods—Jehovah, Jesus Christ, and Hapu, (a young woman who had pretended to be a prophetess, and had lately deceased). They dug up the bones of Hapu, adorned them with kapas, flowers and birds' feathers; deposited them in a prominent spot and marked about this spot a definite inclosure. This they called the place of refuge. They went from house to house and from village to village and exhorted the people with much earnestness and eloquence to go to the place of refuge, saying that the heavens and earth were about to meet and all who were not found in the place of refuge would be destroyed. Many other things they said which I will not take up your time to mention. Many of the ignorant people, in part from terror and in part from the promptings of carnal hearts, listened to the young men and assembled around the bones of the deified Hapu. They erected at once a neat thatched building as a temple and another as a sepulchre. The throng of

people was very great, and they continued night and day in their worship. In the midst of it, the report was brought to our station, and in company with a young chief by the name of Hoolulu I immediately set out for the place. They heard of us before our arrival and dispersed to their houses. Self convinced of their folly, they could not think of meeting us. On our arrival, all we met seemed to be ashamed and disposed to hide their faces. We succeeded in collecting a company together and mildly exposed the foolishness and guilt of their conduct. They seemed to be confounded. We then inquired if they had any desire to continue the senseless worship of Hapu. "No desire," was the reply, and as a test of its sincerity the temple of Hapu was soon ascending in flame and smoke toward heaven. Instances of this kind showed that they were incapable of boldly advocating a system of idolatry. They could only steal away to it as those who were fond of its lusts and yet sensible of its folly and guilt.

By this apparent reverse, then, of which I have spoken, the claims of Christianity were tested and more permanently established. It was a struggle which was anticipated. Afterward the popularity of religion was not so great as before, but the church had a better prospect of purity and genuine religion;—there continued to be as much sincere and earnest inquiry on the subject of the soul's salvation as ever before existed.

The course taken by the king sundered in a measure the connection between church and state. Christianity at the islands was in its infancy and could not but feel deeply the desertion.

The shock would have been greater and the effects more disastrous had it not been for the presence of sober and stable chiefs on all the principal islands. Not a few of the chiefs, indeed, followed in the steps of the king, but many of the older and influential chiefs stood firm and used remonstrance. Kuakini (Gov. Adams) was governor of Hawaii, Hoapili was governor of Maui and its adjacent islands, Kinau and Kekauluohi had influence on Oahu, and Kaikio-

ewa was governor of Kauai. All these chiefs were members of the church and persons of more or less stability and influence. They exerted their authority on their respective islands to repress disorders, to prevent crime and to promote good morals. The result was that the means of intoxication were nearly excluded from all the islands except Oahu. The church, when deprived of fostering care from earthly power, was not deserted by its great Founder and Invisible Head.

During this year of confusion and disorder, sixty-four new members were added to the several churches and only seven were excommunicated and twenty-seven suspended—a result more favorable than could have been anticipated. The shock, indeed, was not so much felt in the churches and among the people under the immediate care of the missionaries as at remote places where but little light had been imparted and where nothing more than a transient superintendence could be exerted. The change had the effect to narrow, in a measure, the influence of a missionary to his immediate vicinity, and so much so that the need of additional laborers in the field was more deeply felt at that time than at any other period of the mission.

The peculiar school system above described crumbled at once into ruins. The teachers were ignorant and had already taught about all they knew. They had not character nor stability enough to stand alone nor independence enough to face opposition, nor energy sufficient to struggle against difficulties, nor the self denial that was requisite to endure privations and toil on day after day in their work without applause and with a scanty reward. There was here and there an exception, but the mass of teachers became discouraged and deserted their posts as soon as their avocation was shorn of its popularity and failed to secure the usual support. With the failure of the schools, the missionary's main facility of communicating with distant parts of his field was cut off and many a secluded spot soon began to retrocede into ignorance and darkness. The desire for books, also, diminished with the decline of schools and peo-

ple from a distance fell off from attending public worship and other means of grace. In short, a new state of things had taken place, calling for new measures and new plans of operation. The superficial era had passed away and it was now time to dig deeper and to lay foundations that should promise to be more substantial and permanent. It was a time that called forth from the missionaries much thought, much mutual consultation and no little sifting of schemes both new and old, and which led also to much humble and fervent prayer.

A new school system was one of the first and most important items that came up for discussion. A Mission Seminary was proposed, a Female Seminary, Preparatory Boarding Schools, Model School stations, Children's Schools, improved school houses, requisite school books, a proper support for teachers and other topics of a like kind, requiring much thought and much careful deliberation. A casual notice in this place of the views taken and the measures adopted, would be unsatisfactory and it may be better to reserve so extensive and interesting a subject for a separate chapter.

It is a circumstance to be thankfully noticed that when iniquity began to come in upon Honolulu like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord erected a standard against it. The Rev. John Diell, sent forth by the Seamen's Friend Society, arrived at Honolulu in the spring of 1833—this very year of misrule and disorder—and proceeded to erect a substantial chapel in the very center of iniquity—the site procured, though a commanding and convenient one, being in the very midst of grog-shops. It was completed and opened for religious worship on the 28th of November. The stated ministrations of God's word and ordinances in this chapel and the daily labors of the chaplain had no small influence, and just at the time and place demanded.

God, also, in His providence, disposed the patrons of this mission to increase the number of laborers in this field very opportunely, the largest reinforcement of ordained missionaries ever received at the islands having arrived the year previous, in 1832. And a proposed reduction of this number

of laborers by taking a mission on the Coast or at the Marquesas Islands was overruled, as is believed, by the leadings of Providence. The indication of Providence has seemed to be that there was a great work to be done at these islands and peculiar emergencies to be met, requiring that the number of laborers here should be continually increased and by no means diminished.

A station on the north-west coast of America was at one time contemplated, and the Rev. J. S. Green was instructed to explore that region. He left Honolulu in the brig Volunteer, Capt. Taylor, February 13, 1829, for the Coast; collected information and explored different places, so far as the course of the vessel afforded opportunity, from Norfolk Sound to California. The inhabitants were found to be few and scattered, access to them difficult, and each handful of men speaking a different language. The prospect of usefulness appeared but small, and therefore no forces were drawn off from the Sandwich Islands to take a mission on the Coast.

Again, as early as 1831, the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands were requested by their directors to turn their attention to the Washington or Northern Marquesas Islands. Representations made by the Rev. C. S. Stewart, who visited those islands in the U. S. ship Vincennes, led to the request. The subject was considered in General Meeting and a committee appointed to gain information. In the course of the year it was ascertained by letter from the English missionaries in the South Pacific that they had already sent native teachers to the Marquesas and had requested men from England to occupy that field.

At the next General Meeting (1832), the whole subject was thoroughly canvassed and the result was the appointment of a deputation to visit the Society Islands and confer with the missionaries there, and then if the door should be found open to explore the Marquesas Islands. Messrs. Whitney, Tinker and Alexander sailed for the Society Islands on the 18th of July; had a pleasant and profitable meeting with the missionaries of those islands, interchanging views

and sentiments on the whole subject of missions, and received the following answer from their English brethren to the special object of their visit: That they preferred that the proposed mission should be delayed till they could hear from England, but should this be deemed inexpedient, they would relinquish the northern group to their American brethren. The deputation then visited the Washington Islands and returned with the report that, in their opinion, a mission might be commenced at those islands with a fair prospect of success.

At the next General Meeting, in June, 1833, Messrs. Alexander, Armstrong and Parker were chosen to commence the mission. These brethren were greatly needed in many a destitute field at these islands and especially at so critical a time, but on the other hand the Marquesians were absolutely perishing for want of vision. They sailed therefore with their families from Honolulu on the 2nd of July, and after touching at Tahiti, came to anchor in Massachusetts Bay, Nuuhiwa, on the 10th of August. They saw heathenism in all its degradation and loathsomeness, were treated by the natives with coldness and suspicion, and were constantly harrassed with perplexities and trials which were hard to be endured. No government was the greatest evil. Every man to a great extent was his own master. The brethren did not deem it duty to expose their families in such a state of anarchy and misrule. They found, moreover, that the natives were few in number and divided into small settlements that were separated by mountains almost impassable. At no place could a station be taken with convenient access to more than one thousand souls. Communication with the United States was very unfrequent and uncertain, and the difficulty of receiving requisite supplies very great. The London Missionary Society could, with much more ease, occupy the field. The brethren were convinced that they could do more good at much less peril and expense in some yet unoccupied part of the Sandwich Islands, and an opportunity occurring, they left Nuuhiwa on the 16th of April, 1834, and arrived at the Sandwich Islands on the 13th of May. Their

labors were imperiously needed just at that time at these islands.

The shock of 1833 having once passed over without anything like imminent disaster, affairs soon began to rally again for good. Principles of resuscitation began to act and during the years 1834 and 1835 there was a gradual gain in favor of good order and true religion. The shield of self-righteousness was in a manner torn away and it became easier than formerly to apply searching truth to the hearts of church members and to the consciousness of sinners. Constant accessions were made to the churches and suspended members began to come back with confession and apparent repentance. Protracted meetings were held and with evidently good success. Station schools and children's schools were taught by the missionaries in person. More attractive books were prepared and special pains were taken to interest scholars. The way having been thrown open by the change of affairs to employ more consistently than could be done before the voluntary principle, the missionaries made use of it in favor of temperance and other virtues. There was, indeed, day by day, a slow but sure and permanent gain.

But another trial and severe test of the power of the gospel at the islands was near at hand. The princess, who was a member of the church and who had exerted much good and restraining influence upon her brother, fell at length from her steadfastness, degraded herself by the commission of sin, and joined the king in his course of folly. It became necessary that she should be publicly excommunicated from the church, and so deep a hold had the cause of righteousness gained upon the people that the step was taken without hazard. Her example drew away many unstable souls and increased the impression among the people that a profession of Christianity would no longer be popular.

But the providence of God, which seemed ever to watch over the interests of Christianity at the Sandwich Islands, was now again signally displayed in various ways. The princess soon sickened and died. She gave on her death bed some faint evidence of repentance. Her death, which occurred on

the 30th of December, 1836, made a deep impression on the mind of the king. From that time he began to reflect and to change in a measure his course of conduct.

Again, Kaomi, a Society Islander who had once been a prominent teacher, but falling into sin and apostatizing from religion, was promoted by the king as a chief agent in acts of revolution, and who had more influence than any other person in leading the king astray, soon fell ill and died. He lingered in a hovel at Lahaina with but little attention from his companions, died on board a schooner on which he had embarked to visit Honolulu, and was buried without any mark of distinction or respect. I was on board the schooner at the time of his death. Instead of the mourning prompted by affection and esteem, there seemed to be a deep horror at the departure of one so ill prepared for the awaiting scenes of eternity.

After these events, during the years 1836 and 1837, affairs began to improve apace, leading on to the time of the great revival.

In view of the facts to which we have attended may it not be said with emphasis that the Sandwich Islands' Mission has been a mission planted, nourished, protected and matured by the special interpositions of God's providence? The great Shepherd of Israel, who slumbereth not, has watched over the efforts of his servants with constant, unwearied and jealous care. The cause of evangelizing the islands has been clearly seen to be the cause of God. For this kind superintendence it becomes us, at all times, to render a tribute of grateful praise.

CHAPTER IX.

SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS.

Object of the Mission—Elevation of Heathen Race—Prospect of Heathen Nation Dubious—Education a Saving Means—Reasons for Schools—Variety of Laborers Needed—Auxiliary Influences—Deplorable Condition without Schools—Mission Seminary—Its Design and Location—Progress and Interest in Education—Additional Teachers—Names of Pupils—Oahu Charity School—School Laws.

In speaking of the kinds of missionary work at the Sandwich Islands I named that of Christian schools. This is a class of efforts of vast importance and demands particular notice. It may be interesting to describe our missionary schools, trace their history, and give some account of their present condition.

Before entering, however, on a description I must ask my readers to peruse attentively a few remarks. After the fact, too, that the subject of missionary schools is one often under discussion in the public mind, renders the remarks I shall make still more necessary.

The Scriptures affirm, "That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good." Heathen souls are without knowledge. The depth of ignorance cannot be fully portrayed. It is inconceivable. "Darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people." The evils of this state of deep ignorance or mental death are neither few nor small. No one can tell how much light excelleth darkness. The great need then is to communicate light. And the inquiry arises, what means shall we use to enlighten the mind—to arouse and strengthen its dominant powers and to furnish materials for thought? No better instrumentality has been devised than that of Christian schools. Pious school instruction is a simple means but one of amazing efficiency. It is a means well adapted to every land; yet it is, if possible, more appropriate and more indispensable among an ignorant people. Its instrumentality, therefore, is peculiarly needed in a land of pa-

gan darkness. Experience teaches us that light and truth make but slow progress without it. The gospel of Jesus Christ, the most important of all truth, finds but very imperfect inlets to the soul where there is no school instruction. And as to permanency of religious institutions, we cannot with reason hope for it among any people unless their minds to some extent be aroused, expanded and strengthened by the discipline of schools.

But before noticing definitely the reasons which weigh in the minds of the missionaries for prosecuting with vigor a well-devised system of education at the Sandwich Islands, it is necessary to form clear and distinct notions of the object which the mission has in view. At what do the missionaries aim? There are two objects, in some respects quite distinct from each other, which they may be supposed to have in view; one is merely to gather in a harvest of souls from the present population, or, in other words, to fit the present generation to die; and the other is to raise the people from a state of heathenism to take a permanent stand as a Christian nation.

Merely to preach the gospel to a people in the form of public instruction, give a little knowledge perhaps in common schools, and gather in a harvest of souls, though an object of infinite moment, is notwithstanding in one respect a superficial work—it leaves the territory in the hands of the enemy. Even this is a very great and difficult work, but yet comparatively easy, and, with God's blessing, often accomplished; while to place a nation on a permanent basis is quite a different undertaking, and one rarely effected.

The work of the missionaries hitherto has been mostly of the former kind, and such also to a great degree was the work of the Apostles. And what people, we may ask, stand on the record of history as having been elevated and saved, as a nation, except by a great combination of means, connected with the preaching of the gospel and operating for a number of centuries, as in the case of Great Britain? The work of raising a people, within a short period, from a state of heathenism to that of an intelligent, industrious and Chris-

tian nation is a work not yet on record. Such an event, whenever it shall take place, will fill a page in history of inconceivable interest.

Elliot, Brainerd, and other missionaries to the Indians were instrumental in saving many of the souls of their hearers; but did not rescue those tribes from extinction. It may be said, perhaps, that powerful causes were in operation to exterminate those tribes. And in reply it may be said that to a greater or less extent the same causes are in operation at this very hour to exterminate almost every heathen nation on the globe. The spirit of traffic and of commercial enterprise has carried the rum, the diseases, and the overreaching avarice of professedly Christian nations to almost every shore and village of the whole known world. It is not the contact of civilization with a savage state, as some imagine, that exterminates the heathen, but the introduction of evils from civilized lands. And, unless redeeming influences, to a far greater extent than heretofore used, can be speedily put forth, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to affirm that the extinction of almost every heathen nation the world over is inevitable; and that only scattered individuals can be saved, or rather prepared to die, whilst the tide of desolation sweeps away the multitude. To counteract, under God, the desolating evils and place a nation on a permanent basis requires a vast amount of means and of effort—far greater, perhaps, than even the most thinking part of the community imagine.

A harvest of souls has been gathered in by missionaries, and is being gathered in at the present time from several heathen nations. This is truly the case with the Sandwich Islands. A glorious harvest has been gathered, unto the praise of God's grace. But the question whether the mass of the people is to be elevated and added to the list of Christian nations remains yet to be settled. It remains yet to be known whether the territory shall be permanently gained over or not to the side of Christ.

But if the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands cannot be saved as a nation, what heathen nation can be rescued and

placed on a permanent basis? Look over the list of heathen nations and examine narrowly into the exterminating causes which are at work in each. I have paid some little attention to this subject and I find facts that startle and overwhelm me.

The conclusion is too melancholy to be entertained that all heathen nations must be lost, and the ground occupied, not usually by worthy citizens from Christian lands, but to a great extent by the very refuse of those lands. And yet, to all human appearance, such must be the inevitable result unless moral means are brought to bear on heathen nations to a vastly greater extent than has been thought of by the Christian community. If the Sandwich Island nation is to be saved and the territory gained over to the side of Christ, efforts must be put forth, compared with which all that has yet been done, notwithstanding the glorious triumphs effected here, is scarcely more than a mere commencement. So much greater is the work of raising up a people as a nation than that of merely gathering in a transient harvest.

And yet who can endure the thought of merely reaping a transient harvest and leaving the territory under the dominion of the great enemy of God? Your missionaries cannot. They believe, according to the promise, that Christ shall inherit all nations, and not that his inheritance shall consist merely of a few scattered individuals saved from an universal wreck. Your missionaries, therefore, aim to elevate the nation and make it a Christian people. They aim at this, though they see the causes of extinction scattered everywhere in fearful profusion. They feel that they must not be discouraged by these exterminating causes, for that would be to give up all heathen nations. They cling yet to the only remaining alternative, that of endeavoring to counteract, under God, this array of deadly evils by a corresponding amount of moral means. And to this alternative they will continue to cling, even though the government of the nation should pass in a measure into foreign hands.

One class of means necessary to such a result is a well-devised and thorough system of education. If the sole aim

were to lead to repentance a portion of the present generation, then God might bless the faithful preaching of the gospel with a little school instruction perhaps to the accomplishment of that end; though even that end, judging from God's providence hitherto, could not be so advantageously effected by such a course, as by more attention to schools, for facts show most incontestibly that those persons whose minds have been aroused to think and whose consciences have been enlightened by school instruction are by far the most hopeful subjects of divine grace.

Having then this general view before us, let us now look at reasons and facts. We shall aim so to connect facts with reasons as not to be tedious.

1. The first reason which presents itself is that to which we have already alluded, that without school instruction heathen minds are so dormant, so unaccustomed to think and so pre-occupied with false and groveling notions as to be in a great measure unprepared to comprehend the truths of the gospel. The heathen mind (as previously described) is in such a state as to render school instruction of indispensable importance. Without schools, as a general remark, there cannot be intelligent hearers of the gospel. The youth taught in schools, whose minds are aroused to think, and whose consciences are enlightened, are the persons most likely to be converted. This is not the voice of theory, but of experience. It is not the experience of one mission merely, but of all.

What copious blessings have descended upon the schools in Ceylon? What Christian is there whose eye has not been lighted up and his heart cheered with the reviving intelligence which has come to us from time to time from those interesting schools?

The Sandwich Island mission also has turned much of its attention to schools, particularly from the time of apparent reverse in 1832, and eternity only can reveal how far these instructions prepared the way for powerful and wide-spread revivals. In some of the schools for children and youth more than one-half who were members at the time of the great re-

vival were hopefully converted. Of the whole number of estimated converts during that revival, about one thousand were from the young embraced in schools. And I think it may be safely said that the instance has been rare of a soul converted at the islands who has not been in some measure connected with schools. The boarding-schools, the schools on which the most pains and labor are bestowed, have shared most largely in the out-pouring of the Spirit. These are facts which cannot be forgotten or disregarded. They illustrate the declaration of the Scripture that we are to reap in proportion as we sow.

2. Again, schools among the heathen afford the readiest means of access to the people—the most favorable openings for communicating the gospel truth—the firmest bond of interest and a most pleasant and important chain of posts from which the most salutary influence of various kinds can be most advantageously disseminated. These points are too obvious to need illustration.

3. Again, any other course than that of introducing the work of education involves the supposition that the nation is to be permanently supplied with preachers from abroad. There is no other alternative. Without a system of education, and a thorough system too, how are preachers of the gospel to be obtained except from other lands? In such a case preachers must be furnished by the American churches, not for a number of years only, but for all time to come; and if for one heathen nation, most evidently for all—a conclusion from which the mind instinctively shrinks as utterly unpracticable and absurd.

Look over the pages of history and tell us of the nation where the experiment has been tried. Where have preachers of the gospel been supplied from another land century after century? What would be thought of an attempt to supply the valley of the Mississippi as a permanent arrangement with preachers of the gospel from the other states? How much wiser to introduce schools, colleges and seminaries in the valley and raise up laborers on the ground!

4. Again, were it possible for the Sandwich Island nation to exist and be permanently supplied with preachers from abroad, yet it could exist only in a state of infancy. And how unwise and ridiculous should we appear nursing an infant with grey hairs. The eagle is wiser, who teaches her young to use their own wings and depend upon their own strength. We are wiser in the education of our own children. We teach them to stand upon their own feet—train them gradually to think and act for themselves, and when somewhat mature in years, we expect them to be sustained by their own industry and to be guided by their own wisdom. The Sandwich Island nation is the infant we are training. Let us teach it to exercise its own powers and ultimately to depend, under God, upon its own strength and its own resources. Let there be preachers of the gospel and other laborers from among her own youthful population. But this end can never be secured without a well-devised and thorough system of education. It cannot be secured without such a system entered upon immediately, for the nation is going to decay. It cannot be secured without engaging in the work with vigor and unwearied perseverance, for the difficulties are many and great.

5. Again, the mass of the people can never be elevated to be an intelligent, industrious and Christian nation without a great variety of laborers, and to furnish a permanent supply of such laborers the work of education is absolutely indispensable. The work of public preaching, though a prominent mode of bringing truth before the minds of the people, is, notwithstanding, far from being the only way of exerting a gospel influence; and though a principal means in rescuing a nation and placing it on a permanent basis, does not pretend to accomplish that end without bringing into requisition many influences of an auxiliary kind.

If any one doubts this assertion, let him look at facts. Let him look back through the whole chronology of national history and bring an instance to confute it. Or let him look at the United States and estimate the variety and amount of means which are deemed necessary to counterpoise the sink-

ing tendency of a nation already intelligent and Christian; and then let him reflect that if such is the amount and variety of effort necessary to hold up the United States from heathenism, what must be requisite to raise up the heavy mass of a heathen nation from the inconceivable depth to which for centuries it has been sinking. With such a view of the case, he cannot fail to be convinced that to elevate a heathen nation, if the instrumentality is to bear any proportion to the end, requires a great variety and a great number of able men; that the efforts of a few public preachers alone is too small a power, as we judge of instrumentality, to bring to a poise the downward momentum of a barbarous people; that a great number and variety of other laborers must unite their strength or the leaden mass will never be raised.

In looking, as proposed, at the various means which are in use to buoy up the United States and preserve above board its intelligence, its habits, and its Christian character, it is difficult to take in the whole at a single view. The mind becomes confused and the impression is obscure. Let us then look a little in detail at the means used in a single village. Take, perhaps, a village of 2,000 inhabitants. Its peaceful citizens, for the most part, are the descendants of ancestors who, farther back than memory can trace, or perhaps for thirty generations, have felt the influence of the Christian religion. Through this period of thirty generations the pure, perfect and holy principles of the gospel have been correcting the habits of society, renovating its government, elevating its principles and sending a flow of benevolent and refined feeling through all the interchanges of life. Economy prevails among these villagers as the habit of ages, and the fostering care of a good government holds forth motives to industry and enterprise which cannot be resisted. Agriculture, the useful arts, and labor-saving improvements are well understood, and afford in abundance the means of civilization and refinement. These active villagers are also intelligent—a reading and a thinking people, and before them lies a boundless field of literature, both scientific and religious. Their minds have been stored with the public instruc-

tions of the house of God,—they have been trained in schools and improved by the remarks of the learned and wise. But, more than all this, a large portion of these inhabitants are Christians.

I have chosen, you perceive, a village of the very first order for religion, good morals and intelligence; for it must be admitted that such a people require as little amount of means as any other to preserve them from retroceding into ignorance, degradation and vice.

I inquire, then, what is the amount of means which would be deemed necessary to preserve in good condition this Christian village? Would merely the labors of one clergyman be sufficient? Let us, then, give these 2,000 inhabitants a faithful preacher of the gospel. Now we are to devolve upon this single clergyman all that is necessary to preserve the intelligence, the industry, the good habits and Christian character of these villagers. We will then suppose, if the case be supposable, that we lock up the school houses or convert them to other purposes—make a bonfire of all books, scientific and religious—seal up the lips of intelligent and praying church members—cast out the type of the periodical press—tear down the sign-board of the medical man and the civilian—overturn the government and substitute a despotism—extinguish the blacksmith's forge—hush the busy hum of every mechanic and every artist, and break in pieces all the labor-saving machinery and improved implements of husbandry. These auxiliaries, and all others, must be annihilated in order to devolve the whole work as was supposed on one preacher of the gospel. Now, I ask, would the unaided efforts of this one man save the village from retroceding into ignorance and degradation?

And yet this one clergyman has an easy task compared with that of the missionary. For the missionary is a foreigner—has the language to learn—must become acquainted with the habits, prejudices and opinions of the people—maintain a faithful correspondence with foreign directors and a religious community, and be embarrassed with many time-

wasting perplexities of a secular kind, of which a minister in a Christian land has no conception.

Besides, in the village in question, we did not imagine the inhabitants reduced to a state of heathenism before we cast them on the labors of one man, but merely supposed all external influences of an auxiliary kind to be suspended. To place the village in a state of heathenism we must not only make all the external changes we have supposed, but effect changes of vastly greater importance—changes in the minds and hearts of the inhabitants. We must erase all good maxims, break up all habits of industry—roll back the intellect many centuries, far back into the thick recesses of night—in short, undo all that religion and civilization have for ages effected and completely enervate and brutalize both the heart and the mind.

And even then the work is not done, but we must infuse all the notions of a low and groveling superstition, entwine these notions with the vilest passions and basest appetites, and rivet them by the habit of ages.

The single clergyman, then, in the village supposed occupies high vantage ground above that of a foreign missionary. And yet how soon would he find his field becoming a wilderness, could his efforts be isolated as we have supposed? He does not appreciate the vast extent to which he is indebted to intelligent and praying church members, to school teachers, physicians, wise legislators, mechanics, artists, manufacturers, agriculturalists, an extensive literature, and a periodical press; because, having always enjoyed these and similar advantages, he has become insensible to their importance. Could he be deprived of them as we have supposed, he would then feel his loss. A man does not fully appreciate the value of hands, feet, and eyes till he is deprived of them. So it is not till a minister goes forth unaided to a barbarous people that he begins to attribute due importance to the various advantages we have enumerated.

Is it not clear, then, that to elevate the Sandwich Island nation requires not only a few ministers of the gospel, but a great number and variety of laborers? It is not sufficient,

even in respect to a religious influence, that it be exerted by a public preacher alone, but private individuals of some intelligence must carry it everywhere—to every village and every hut, however remote and obscure, and faithfully disseminate it by a familiar mode of instruction and by a consistent example throughout the whole mass of society. Mind, too—the whole mass of mind must be awakened; and to accomplish this the simple but efficient means of common school instruction must be universally diffused.

Then, too, there must be men of skill in the useful arts to teach the people how to apply to advantage their muscular force; for it is not physical strength that is wanting, but intelligence and skill to make use of it. The useful and busy arts must wake up the death-like stillness and inactivity of heathen society, promote industry, and furnish the means of civilized life.

Much must be done, too, in the profession of medicine, not only to stay the progress of diseases which are rapidly sweeping away the people, but to outroot a system of quackery of the very worst kind—a quackery combined with the gross superstitions of heathenism—a quackery which not only cuts short many lives, but poisons also the immortal soul.

Much, too, is to be done in respect to the political affairs of the nation. He only is truly free whom the Son of God makes free, and the farther a nation is removed from the religion of Christ, the more despotic becomes its rulers, and the more enslaved and trodden down become the great mass of the people. Heathenism, all the world over, is a state of bondage—not only mental and moral bondage, but also a state of political degradation to an iron-hearted despotism. If the Sandwich Islanders are to exist as a Christian nation, there must be a thorough reformation, not only in religion, good habits, an intellectual capacity, but also in the form of government. But how is this change to be effected, unless men are raised up from among their own population, whose intelligence and integrity shall be competent to so important a task?

In all these departments of labor, at which I have briefly

glanced lest I should tire your patience, there must be well-trained and efficient laborers.

From whence are they to be obtained? It is evident that at first they must be furnished by Christian lands in sufficient number at least to be teachers of others. But nothing but a thorough system of education can furnish, as a permanent arrangement, the requisite number of preachers, physicians, legislators, school-teachers, catechists, intelligent artists, and the like. And all these are needed to combine their strength and lift at various points in raising up the heavy mass of heathen society. What would have been the present state of the United States had not the Pilgrim Fathers erected the school house and the college as well as the house of worship? Could she always have been supplied with preachers, physicians, and other laborers from the father-land? And if that were possible, in what a state of helplessness and national imbecility would she have existed, instead of acquiring the intelligent, independent, and manly character which she at present exhibits. Let us imitate the wisdom of the Pilgrim Fathers, and in our endeavors to elevate the Sandwich Island nation, associate the means of a thorough education with the instructions of the house of God.

When I speak of a system of education, I mean, of course, a system baptized with the Holy Ghost—most thoroughly under the influence of the religion of Christ, entered upon and prosecuted at every step with fervent and humble prayer. By such a course, it is to be hoped, a large number of men might be raised up to do good in various ways, and prove, under God, the salvation of their country. At least we may confidently assert that if for the lack of money or of men, a class of laborers of various kinds cannot be raised up from among the rising generation of the Sandwich Islanders, we ought to relinquish at once all hope of saving the nation, notwithstanding the powerful revivals experienced here, and merely aim to prepare for death as many of the present generation as possible. In familiar words, we ought to give up the ship and save what we can from the wreck.

6. But, in addition to this urgent consideration, we must

notice again that unless the work of education be prosecuted with vigor at the Sandwich Islands, the rising generation of children and youth will grow up in a state worse, if possible, than that of their fathers. There are at the islands not far from 30,000 children—all of whom lie entirely at our disposal—completely on our hands—the forming of their character, in the Providence of God, is devolved upon the American churches. They will soon arrive to years of manhood, and be the Sandwich Island nation. Time flies—the fathers die—and the children stand in their places. The plastic clay is now in our hands. If we do not take advantage of the present favorable period, we may be certain that Satan will not let it pass unimproved.

Leave the children without schools, and what will be the result? You might see them from morning to night, ungoverned by their parents, almost naked, ranging the fields in companies of both sexes, sporting on the sand-beach, bathing promiscuously in the surf, or following the wake of some drunken sailors, and learning all their profaneness, obscenity, and swaggering behavior. Leave them without schools, and they will grow up like the wild goats of the field—grow up under the influence of the blasphemer, the adulterer, and the drunkard—and, more than all this, grow up hardened against all the influences of Christianity—a state worse, if possible, than heathenism itself. With schools, as facts have shown, they may be trained up with moral habits and religious feelings, and many of them may be safely gathered into the fold of Christ.

7. Again, education is necessary to guard against the insidious efforts of Romanists. With a zeal and perseverance worthy of a better faith, the Church of Rome is unwearied in her efforts, and by no means sparing of expense, to gain converts at the islands. Now we know that it is a motto, in regard to that religion, that ignorance is the mother of devotion. It has proved true at these islands. As yet the Romanists have been most successful in remote and secluded parts where but little light has shone. Let ignorance generally reign, and the showy forms and flattering principles

of Romanism would flourish at these islands in all their luxuriance, as they already do in many a fair island of the Pacific Ocean. In view of this danger, it is of the utmost importance that the people should be trained by the discipline of a school education to think and judge for themselves.

8. Again, the training of native helpers is called for on account of the local circumstances of the people. The islands are volcanic, and very much cut up by deep ravines, which render access to distant parts of them very difficult. But no inconsiderable portion of the population live in the deep valleys, remote corners, and obscure recesses. Unless native preachers, teachers, and catechists can be raised up for these remote and secluded parts of the islands, there is much reason to fear that they will ever be left in a state of destitution.

9. And here we must add that to all human appearance, most of the islands of Polynesia must remain unevangelized, unless a native agency can be raised up for the purpose. The islands, many of them at least, are quite small, and on many accounts, which I have not time to enumerate, extremely inconvenient for the residence of Europeans. Foreign teachers, of course, must be expected to visit all the important groups; but how, I ask, are the untold spots to be evangelized which dot the whole surface of the wide Pacific? Unless a native agency can be raised up for the purpose, their prospect is dark and cheerless. If native laborers can be trained for the work at the schools of Hawaii, and at some of the islands of the South Seas, they will possess the great advantage of being acquainted in a good measure with the language of the people, and their manners, customs, prejudices, and modes of thought; for the language of a great part of the Polynesian tribes is substantially the same, and so are their habits and modes of thought.

We are urged, then, to enter upon the work of education at the Sandwich Islands, as the only means of raising up intelligent hearers of the gospel, as the most favorable mode of access to the population and the firmest bond of union, as the only prospect of furnishing a permanent supply of

preachers for the islands, as the only prospect of furnishing such a supply of other laborers as are absolutely indispensable to the education of the nation, as the only way of training the people so as to possess any maturity of character, as the only measure to preserve the rising generation from growing up in a state worse, if possible, than that of their fathers, as a powerful barrier against the threatening attitude of Romanism, as the only method of spreading knowledge and religious influence in the remote parts of the islands, and as the only hope of a large portion of Polynesia.

These and similar considerations have had influence upon the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, from the very commencement of their labors. Such views, however, began to be entertained more fully after the change of affairs in the nation which took place at the death of Kaahumanu. And every succeeding year they have been acquiring strength and maturity from our experience and our observation.

Entertaining such opinions and encouraged by our patrons, we have made some progress in introducing among this people an efficient and thorough system of education. And here it is in place to add some historical notice of what has been done.

The Mission Seminary first claims our attention. At the General Meeting of the Mission in June, 1831, it was unanimously resolved to establish a Seminary for raising up teachers and other helpers in the missionary work. The design of the Seminary is more fully expressed in the laws to be as follows:

“1. To aid the mission in accomplishing the great work for which they were sent hither; that is, to introduce and perpetuate the religion of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, with all its accompanying blessings, civil, literary and religious.

“2. As a means of accomplishing this great end, it is the design of the Seminary to disseminate sound knowledge throughout the Islands, embracing general literature and the sciences, and whatever may tend to elevate the whole mass of the people from their present ignorance and degra-

dation, and cause them to become a thinking, enlightened and virtuous people.

“3. A more definite object of the Seminary is to train up and qualify good school teachers for their respective duties, to teach them theoretically and practically the best method of communicating instruction to others; together with a knowledge of the arts, usages and habits of civilized life, with all their train of social blessings.

“4. Another object still more definite and of equal or greater importance is to educate as soon as practicable young men of piety and promising talents and fit them to become preachers of the gospel, to be fellow laborers with us in disseminating the pure religion of Jesus among their dying fellow men.”

Lahaina, or some spot in the neighborhood, was chosen by the Mission as a suitable place for the location of the school, and the Rev. Lorrin Andrews, a missionary of that station, was set apart to be its teacher.

Soon after the General Meeting, Mr. Andrews, accompanied by his former associate, Mr. Richards, commenced the examination of several sites in the neighborhood of Lahaina for the location of the school. They at length fixed upon the present spot, which has since been named by the scholars Lahainaluna, or Upper Lahaina. It is situated back of Lahaina about two miles and at a considerable elevation, commanding a very extensive prospect over the village below, the shipping at anchor, three adjacent islands and the channels which separate them. The site was then in a rude and barren state. Water courses and cultivation have since changed its aspect very considerably.

A vote was on record to establish a Mission Seminary, a man had been chosen to take charge of it, and the place of its location was fixed upon; but how to proceed farther was an embarrassing question. There was no school house, no apparatus and no school books properly so called; and what was more, there was no arrangement or appropriation by General Meeting to answer these demands. The Mission indeed did not feel at liberty to make the requisite appro-

priations—or commence any considerable expenditure on an institution that must ultimately cost much, till they should present the subject before their patrons and directors in the United States and receive a reply. And such a course necessarily implied a delay of eighteen months or two years. In the meantime, if the Seminary should be commenced, it must struggle like schools at the stations, as a self-supporting institution and with temporary fixtures. This fact will account in a measure for the embarrassments of its early progress.

A shed or booth made of poles and grass was thrown together as a screen from the sun to answer for a time as a school house. A house for the teacher and his family was constructed in the usual native way with poles and sticks and thatched with grass. With merely these preparations, the school went into operation as early as the 5th of September. A selection of scholars from the different islands constituted the school. They had been for the most part teachers of common schools, and were the best of that class of persons, and yet their qualifications were exceedingly scanty. They were very poor readers, could write only a miserable hand and had been taught only the ground rules of Arithmetic and those very imperfectly. They were all adults, and most of them married men.

In a few weeks the scholars, under the direction of their teacher, commenced building a more permanent school house. Great embarrassment was experienced for the want of proper facilities and means to carry forward the work, and of skill in the workmen. After some accidents which occasioned considerable delay, the walls of a stone house fifty by twenty-six feet were finished and a roof put on, which was covered with “ti” leaf. It was just enclosed before the General Meeting in June, 1832. The building was erected entirely by the scholars. The workmanship was rude but substantial.

During the time of building the house, the scholars attended school regularly except a few weeks when they were absent in the mountains for timber. The first great object

was to teach them to read with proper pauses and inflections and to gain ideas from what they read. Thorough drilling in the exercise of reading occupied most of the time. The average number of scholars during the year was about forty.

The next school year, from June, 1832, the prospect was more encouraging. The scholars had a house in which to meet. A geography had been prepared and printed, and with the aid of large maps and a set of topographical questions, could be used to advantage. Fowle's Child's Arithmetic and Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetic were also ready for use. To reading, then, geography and arithmetic were added. Writing, too, was introduced, but not till toward the close of the year, for want of proper fixtures. The scholars went to the mountains and hewed plank from large trees of which they made seats and also forms on which to commence writing. They improved their house also in various other respects. They procured wood and coral with much labor and burnt lime, and they brought the lime and sand from the seashore and plastered the house. They also laid a stone floor, made rude window blinds and also a door. Their house being thus fitted, they began the exercise of writing and drawing maps about the first of April.

At the close of the year in June, the missionaries being assembled for General Meeting at Lahaina, an examination of the school took place, at which it was allowed that the scholars did themselves much credit in the several branches of study to which they had attended. The number of scholars during the first half of the year was sixty-three; during the latter half it was increased to eighty-five.

At the General Meeting immediately succeeding the examination, in June, 1833, an increased interest was manifested by the brethren generally in the school. The interest was excited in part by the pleasing progress already made and in part by the pressing necessity every day becoming more and more urgent for properly qualified teachers to take charge of schools at the various stations. The former superficial school system had accomplished all that it was

capable of effecting, and had now, on account of the change in national affairs and for other reasons, nearly crumbled into ruins. It was deemed neither practicable nor expedient to resuscitate that system. The only hope consisted in obtaining better qualified teachers to instruct schools on a more thorough plan. It was natural therefore for all to turn their thoughts with increased interest to the Mission Seminary.

During the year, Worcester's Sacred Geography, Holbrook's Geometry for Children, and the first number of Abbot and Fisk's Bible Class Book were added to the scanty facilities of the former year as books to aid in communicating instruction.

In December, a very poor second-hand Ramage press was received from Honolulu with a few type that were very much worn. In January, a temporary building was in readiness for it and the above named translations were put to press. On the 14th of February the first number of a Hawaiian newspaper was issued—the first ever printed at the Islands. It was called *Lama Hawaii*, or *Hawaiian Luminary*. It contained miscellaneous instruction for the school.

In addition to the studies above mentioned, exercises in composition were regularly attended to and some time was devoted to the grammar of their own language. A select class commenced the study of Greek, in which they were much interested, but did not progress far for the want of books and of time on the part of the teacher. The number of scholars regularly attending during the year was about eighty.

At the General Meeting in June, 1834, there was a general conviction among the missionaries that it was full time to enlarge the Seminary and to place it, if possible, upon a permanent basis. The need of such an institution as was at first contemplated, was becoming daily more and more apparent and pressing indeed with great urgency; the views entertained the year previous had gained great maturity and strength, and the progress of the school thus far under numerous disadvantages held forth encouragement for future effort. Nothing seemed to be wanting but the requisite

funds, a proper number of teachers and a suitable degree of enterprise to make the institution, under God, an invaluable blessing to the people for whose good it was established. And a reply to our inquiries had been received from our patrons and directors in the United States, encouraging us to go forward in the work and to make the school what it should be.

It was decided to commence the erection of permanent buildings for the school at the expense of the mission and to appoint an additional teacher. The Rev. E. W. Clark was chosen. The department assigned to him was that of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—to prepare text books and to instruct in those branches. In a few months after (October), the Rev. Sheldon Dibble, seeking medical aid for a sick child and a more favorable climate for himself, was led to Lahaina. Being invited, he took part in the school till the next General Meeting, when he was added by a vote of the mission to the faculty of the school. The department assigned him was to prepare text books and instruct in Biblical studies and in civil and ecclesiastical history. To the senior instructor remained geography, grammar, languages and moral sciences.

The language of the Sandwich Islanders being an uncultivated and unwritten one, no books, or even scientific terms were ready at hand. Every thing was to be formed anew—the very terms were to be manufactured. No English books could be used without the long and difficult task of first teaching the English language.

A better printing press and a better supply of type and materials were granted to the school. The work of building houses for the instructors was commenced, but progressed slowly for the want of workmen and materials. It should be remembered that it is a slow and tedious business to build at the Sandwich Islands. The exposed condition of the families of the instructors seemed to demand the first attention and no additional school building could be put up during the year. The number of scholars was one hundred and seventeen. A history of beasts with cuts, a few sheets of a work

on trigonometry, the first volume of Union Questions and a tract on Church History were added during the year to the means of communicating instruction.

At the General Meeting in June, 1835, Mr. E. H. Rogers was located at Lahainaluna to take charge of the printing office. Application was made to the chiefs for land connected with the school, which was granted. During the year ensuing considerable progress was made both in the instruction of the school and in erecting school buildings. Some additional sheets of the work on trigonometry, some sheets of a Hawaiian grammar, a more full work on sacred geography, and a chronological outline of scripture history with questions were printed and used in the school. The number of scholars was one hundred and twenty-three.

January 1st a church was formed among the scholars and Mr. Dibble installed pastor.

During the year and at its close all of the scholars who first entered the school were sent out to engage in labors at the various stations. Fifty-six scholars remained in school who had more recently entered.

At the General Meeting in June, 1836, an important change was made in the school. The scholars heretofore had consisted almost entirely of adults and most of them were married men. The school was at first a self-supporting institution. It was necessary, therefore, to receive those only who could furnish themselves with food and clothing by their own industry, and who could also in addition erect their own school house.

Besides, few but adults had at that time proper qualifications to enter. Not much attention at that period of the mission had been paid to children's schools. And still farther, such was the pressing demand for school teachers that the first object was to select those who could be prepared in the shortest time and thrust them forth to be helpers in that branch of missionary work. It was thus mainly from the necessity of the case that the school was commenced with adults and not because it was supposed that they were the most promising materials for such a school.

After a few years, circumstances were materially changed. The American Board manifested a readiness to sustain the institution on the plan of a boarding school. Many children had been brought into station schools, from whom a much more promising class could now be selected for the Seminary. It was therefore resolved to change the form of the school into a boarding school and admit only young scholars between the ages of ten and twenty years. The adults in school, fifty-six in number, were to remain till they should have completed their course.

It was thought that by taking scholars who were quite young into a boarding school, they could be preserved in a measure from the pollutions of heathen society, be trained to habits of regularity, neatness and civilization, and receive a mental and moral culture more thorough than it was possible to bestow upon adults.

At the commencement of the school year, thirty-two boys were admitted as boarding scholars. The change was considered one of vital importance and yet it increased very much the labor of the teachers and the expenses of the school.

The buildings were yet in an unfinished state. Only two rooms could be occupied and these were unfinished. But encouraged by a grant of \$5,000 from the American Board for the erection of buildings and assurances of further support, it was determined to carry forward the work of building as fast as possible that one obstacle, which had from the first been a hindrance to the success of the school, might be removed. The teachers of the school were aided in this work and somewhat too in the guardianship of the boarding scholars, by the faithful services of Mr. Charles Burnham. In the course of the year the buildings were covered and partly finished. In the midst of the work, a retrenching circular arrived from the American Board, which our patrons were constrained to send to their various missions on account of pecuniary embarrassment.

The buildings, as now finished, consist of a center building and two wings, all in one block, and constructed of stone. The center building is forty feet square inside, two and a

half stories high with a small cupola. The lower story affords two school rooms. The second story affords a good room forty feet square for a chapel. A room above the chapel, together with the garret of one of the wings, is used as a store room. The two wings are each fifty by twenty-six feet, two stories high. The lower story of one is a school room, and the upper story a dwelling house for one of the teachers. The lower story of the other is a dining hall, and the upper story a school room. Several rows of small thatched houses were constructed within the inclosure as lodging rooms for the pupils. These are now giving place to rooms made of mud bricks, plastered and whitewashed.

The walls of an office for printing, binding and engraving were also being put up when the circular arrived. The circular put a stop to the work of building and very much crippled the operations of the Seminary.

Some additional text books were made during the year, instruction was regularly imparted and considerable advance was made in the general objects of the school.

After the General Meeting in 1837 the school began to experience a series of disasters. The retrenching circular has already been mentioned. That had a disheartening and withering effect, destroying confidence in any future plans that we might form and rendering useless and unprofitable much of the money and strength that had already been expended—leaving unfinished buildings to stand, in a measure, for the owls and for the bats.

Soon, one of the instructors (Mr. Dibble), on account of heavy domestic afflictions and the failure of his own health, was compelled to embark for the United States. Mr. Burnham also, who was rendering very important service as secular superintendent and guardian of the boarding scholars, found it his duty to leave for the United States. They embarked November 26th, 1837. The school was left in the care of two men, and one of them (Mr. Clark), soon began to suffer in health. The school, however was regularly instructed during the year.

The following year the school suffered still more on ac-

count of the increasing ill health of Mr. Clark. At length his health gave way entirely and he left the school for Honolulu to embark for Canton, March 29th, 1839. He was absent till October 2nd of the same year, when he returned with improved health. The school, in the meantime, with all its departments of care, labor and instruction was left in charge of one man. That was the darkest period of the school. Evils necessarily came in apace, and many interesting young men on whom much time, strength and means had been expended, were ruined, as we fear, both for time and eternity.

Mr. Bailey arrived about the time of Mr. Clark's return to assist in the school, but ill health in his family and the unpropitious state of the institution prevented him from doing as much for the school as he otherwise might have done.

At the General Meeting in June, 1840, some changes were made. Mr. Rogers was called to leave Lahainaluna to superintend the press at Honolulu. Mr. Bailey was removed to Wailuku. Mr. Dibble having returned, the institution in all its departments of care and instruction was devolved upon the three original instructors, Messrs. Andrews, Clark and Dibble. Mr. Dibble was in ill health, and Mr. Clark's health soon began to suffer, but, through the blessing of God, the school was in a measure revived from its low condition and was carried through the year with a good degree of prosperity, so that at the General Meeting (1841) the school was able to report that the scholars had been taught in writing, geography typographical and descriptive, Keith on the globes, mental and written arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, navigation, algebra, sacred geography, sacred history and chronology, natural theology, church history and moral philosophy and that the school had been more flourishing than for several years previous. Twenty-nine scholars had been graduated at the close of the year, and the number remaining was fifty.

At the next general meeting in June, 1842, the teachers were able to state that one hundred scholars had been taught during the year, and that the general state of the school was encouraging and that the pupils were correct in their general

conduct and attentive to religious instruction. A large school room had been completed during the previous year and twenty-two rooms had been added to the dormitories.

At that period (1842), the following results were carefully ascertained by answers to a circular sent to all the stations: That the whole number then living who had been members of the Seminary was one hundred and fifty-eight. Of these, one hundred and five were usefully employed as teachers; thirty-five as officers of government, eight of whom taught a part of the time; in other useful employments, seven; doing nothing or worse, eleven. Of the above, seventy-three were church members in regular standing, nine were officers of churches, and ten were reported as openly immoral. One, who was in school a short time and was sent away for incapacity, had joined the papists. The graduates generally were reported as efficient helpers and a few were occasionally employed as preachers, though without a regular license.

Rev. Lorrin Andrews, senior teacher of the seminary, resigned his connection with the school, and much to the regret of his associates, ceased to be a member of the faculty on the 1st of April, 1842. The remaining instructors, Messrs. Clark and Dibble, were in ill health, and much fear was entertained for the institution. So great was the need of labor throughout the islands and so few were the laborers, that it was difficult to fill vacancies at the seminary. It was deemed absolutely necessary, however, that one man at least should be located at the seminary to assist the two invalids, on whom the whole burden was resting. The Rev. J. S. Emerson was appointed. He arrived at the seminary and began to take part in its cares and labors about the 1st of August, 1842.

The present number of scholars in the seminary (February, 1843), is ninety-eight, of whom twenty-three expect to graduate or go forth to aid at the various stations at the close of the school year.

A pleasing degree of order and attention to study are manifest among the pupils. Neither are they destitute of a serious regard to religious truth. The number of church members in the school is thirty-four, and there are some others of

whom we hope that they have experienced a change of heart. In 1836 and 1838 there was undoubted evidence in school of the special operations of the Holy Spirit.

The order of daily exercises has been changed from time to time as circumstances have seemed to require. Regularity is strictly maintained in their habits of eating, sleeping, study and work. Cleanliness and neatness, also, are aimed at in their dormitories, their dress, and in their table arrangements. Daily bathing also is enjoined. A part of the day is devoted to work, for which each scholar receives compensation according to the amount of work performed, in clothing and in stationery. Their usual food is the native poi, or pounded kalo, and fish, but received in civilized form, on tables, with the use of bowls, plates and spoons.

The labor of the instructors may be divided into three general departments. (1) The most oppressive and exhausting kind of labor has been the preparation of text books. The great burden of preparing books to be used in the seminary has devolved upon the instructors. (2) Next should be mentioned the secular care, embracing the trouble and perplexity of erecting buildings, the guardianship of the pupils, the task of providing for their table, superintendence of their work, and the burden of the printing office, bindery and engraving. (3) The department of labor, which hitherto has been the least oppressive of the three, is instruction in school. With text books ready made and a proper person to take charge of the boarding establishment and other secular care, one instructor could have carried forward the studies of the school about as well as three have hitherto been able to do it.

It is proper also to state that the labors of the instructors have by no means been confined to the school. A church and congregation at Kaanapali, seven miles distant, and a church and congregation made up of the scholars and of other persons worshipping in the chapel, have been on the hands of the teachers and regularly supplied with preaching and Sabbath school instruction. The teachers have also been called upon frequently to preach at other places. They have been required also to assist in translating the Scriptures, a

work which they were the more ready to do because the scholars needed the Bible, even as a school book, more than any other. Other works for general circulation and use in the islands, particularly in schools preparatory to the Seminary, have been required of them. Though, therefore, the appearance has been that three men were devoted to the Mission Seminary, yet such has not been precisely the truth, much of their time and strength being otherwise directed. In weighing the results of the Seminary, this fact together with others ought to be taken into account.

One great burden of the institution has been to direct the manual labor of the scholars. Manual labor has been found indispensable, not only to diminish materially the expenses of the institution, but to cultivate in a people, naturally indolent, habits of systematic industry. It has also been necessary as a means of preserving health. It has been owing doubtless to much vigorous labor in the open air and regular habits that the young men have been uniformly healthy, and have possessed better constitutions at the end of their Seminary course than at the commencement. This Seminary has been uniformly blessed with more health than the Female Seminary at Wailuku. Probably much vigorous labor in the open air has made most of the difference.

Neither should it be forgotten that much of the gain has been of a preparatory kind. The toil of erecting buildings and of making various fixtures to improve the premises—a vast amount of labor and perplexity—may be considered as nearly at an end. Many text-books have been prepared and printed, though still more remain to be made. And when once made, it is encouraging to know that most of them are of use at once, not only in the Seminary for young men, but also in the Female Seminary and other boarding and select schools, so that those schools may be carried on with comparative ease. Much experience, too, has been gained in the work by the teachers and by the mission and favor and confidence have been secured from the chiefs and people. The greatest difficulties have been overcome, and, with God's blessing, the

results hereafter will be more immediate and more conspicuous.

Next in importance to the Seminary for young men is the Female Seminary at Wailuku. In giving some account of this latter institution it may be well, in the first place, to refer to the rise of boarding establishments in the Mission. In the year 1834, the Mission wrote to the Board urging the importance of boarding schools, if practicable in this field, and recommended that their practicability should be tested as soon as possible. The same month, Dr. Wisner, then secretary of the American Board, wrote to the Mission, presenting forcibly his views of the importance of such schools at these islands. A few months later the subject was again brought forward in a letter from Dr. Anderson, the successor of the lamented Wisner. In 1835, at the General Meeting, an effort was made for the establishment of one boarding school (the immediate establishment of only one being then contemplated), which failed, principally because there was no family that could well be devoted to it. In 1836 the Mission authorized the remodeling of the Mission Seminary at Lahainaluna, as above narrated, so as to make it a boarding establishment; and encouraged by the prospect of a new reinforcement, and no longer doubting the practicability of boarding schools in this field, devoted one family to a Central Female Seminary at Wailuku. Aid was also offered to such stations as were disposed to take incipient measures to establish preparatory boarding schools.

The plan and design of the Female Seminary is to take a class of young females into a boarding school—away in a measure from the contaminating influence of heathen society, to train them to habits of industry, neatness, and order, to instruct them in employments suited to their sex, to cultivate their minds, to improve their manners and to instil the principles of our holy religion—to fit them to be suitable companions for the scholars of the Mission Seminary and examples of propriety among the females of the Sandwich Islands.

The Rev. J. S. Green was chosen to take care of the insti-

tution. He commenced immediately the erection of a suitable building for the school. During the year a stone building 56 by 24 feet inside, two stories high, was put up and covered. The mason work was done chiefly by native workmen. The house is a plain but substantial one with a thatched roof.

On the 6th of July, 1837, the school was opened; six little girls being present. The number of scholars was increased during the year so that the average was not far from thirty. It was thought best to commence with only a small number of pupils, that a thorough and fair experiment might be made. All the fixtures were not made that were desirable in commencing the school, but pecuniary embarrassment of the Mission that year would not allow the teacher to add much to them.

The girls appeared happy and docile, made improvement in reading, arithmetic, geography and singing, and learned to make clothes and braid bonnets for themselves. In November the school was much strengthened by the accession of Miss Ogden as an additional teacher.

The school was blessed during the year with the evident influences of the Holy Spirit. A number of the pupils were hopefully converted, of whom ten were admitted to the church.

No discouraging circumstance occurred in regard to the school except the prevalence of a sickness which appeared epidemical. Five of the scholars died during the year and a number of others were obliged to leave school.

The next school year (from June, 1838) the average number of scholars was not far from fifty. The school did not commence till nearly two months after General Meeting, the ill health of the scholars seeming to require a long vacation. The school was also interrupted in the course of the year by the unroofing of the school house in a high wind. The amount of term time during the year was about six months.

Much was done during the year toward finishing the school rooms and in erecting other buildings.

The appropriation by General Meeting being insufficient, many of the missionaries contributed from their annual sti-

pend to carry forward the work. The congregation of Wailuku also rendered important service.

The year did not end without considerable sickness in the school,—not so much as during the former year, but enough to occasion to the teachers no little care and solicitude. Good progress was made in study and in many kinds of handiwork, such as sewing, spinning, knitting and braiding.

Much seriousness appeared in school during the year. Five appeared to become truly pious and were allowed to unite with the church.

The next year (from June, 1839), the school commenced with fifty pupils. Sickness made more alarming ravages than any previous year. Five died. Twelve left on account of sickness, of whom a part died, but the greater number recovered. A meeting of the Trustees was called, who voted to invite Dr. Judd to visit the institution and to inquire carefully into the cause of the sickness. He came and spent several weeks in investigating the case. He recommended less confinement to study, less sedentary labor and more free and vigorous exercise in the open air.

It seemed impossible to restrain them from rude and romping behavior and to confine them to those exercises deemed more proper for females without serious injury to health. To require at once habits of civilization according to our notions of it was evidently attended with great risk. Neither did they appear to endure, to any great extent, in-door habits of labor, but seemed to need frequent tours to the mountains and to the seashore and vigorous labor in the open field.

The members of the church in school that year (1839), of whom there were seventeen, continued to appear well. The school was somewhat increased during the year.

The next year (from June, 1840), the average number of pupils was seventy-one. Pains were taken to carry into practice the advice of Dr. Judd, and some improvement was experienced in the health of the pupils. In behavior, progress in study and religious attention the school continued to appear well. Toward the close of the year, Mr. Armstrong having left Wailuku and the care of the church and congregation

devolving upon Mr. Green, he thought best to devolve the charge of the school upon Mr. Bailey—an arrangement which was sanctioned by the Mission at the ensuing General Meeting.

During Mr. Green's connection with the school, he preached regularly several times each week to congregations in the vicinity, and spent considerable time in the work of translating the scriptures and preparing books for the press.

During this and the succeeding year, several additional buildings were erected and many fixtures made for the accommodation of the school.

The buildings are very pleasantly situated, about two miles from the sea and considerably elevated, commanding one of the most interesting and extensive prospects at the islands. A minute description of them may not be necessary.

The number of pupils at the commencement of the next year (from June 1841) was 61; entered, 11; died, 1; dismissed, 2; left from ill health, 2; leaving at the close of the year, 69. Sickness was evidently on the decrease, owing doubtless, to more out-door exercise, frequent tours to the valleys and to the mountains, and regular field labor. The present number of scholars (1843) is 65.

The exercises of the day are as follows: At day light, prayers; then one hour of light labor in the garden, breakfast, miscellaneous work; from 9 till 11 o'clock, school by Miss Ogden, in spinning, sewing, knitting, weaving, etc.; then bathing and dinner; from 2 till 4 in the afternoon, school by Mr. Bailey in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and other studies; from 4 to 5 labor in the open field with hoes and other implements for vigorous exercise, then supper and evening prayers. Wednesday afternoon is devoted to excursions and sea bathing.

The results of the school thus far have been very encouraging. A large portion have been hopefully converted to Christ. The general behavior of all the scholars is good, and they have made good progress in study and in many kinds of handy work. Six have already been married to graduates of the Seminary and a much larger number will

expect soon to settle in life. They are certainly an interesting group, and their influence upon their country women will not be small. Their severest days of trial are yet to come, and it should be our earnest prayer that God would strengthen them to endure temptation.

We pass next to notice the Preparatory Boarding school at Hilo. At the general meeting in June, 1836, a moderate sum was placed at the disposal of the brethren at Hilo to commence a boarding school at that station, if they should find it consistent with their labors to make the attempt. Such a school was opened at that station by Mr. Lyman as early as October of that year, with such temporary accommodations as could be provided for about \$200, on grounds which were barely spacious enough for the convenience of an ordinary family. There it was continued till the spring of 1838, previous to which time a dwelling house had been erected for the family of the instructor, and the permanent building for the school had been so far advanced as to render the number of pupils then in school as comfortable as they were in the old school building.

The present buildings for the accommodation of the school are situated on elevated ground in a comparatively retired spot, about one-fourth of a mile from the shore, commanding an extensive prospect of the bay and of the ocean far beyond, and also of the two principal mountains of Hawaii. The buildings are surrounded by a spacious yard enclosed by a stone fence. Some parts of the yard are designated for the cultivation of melons, bananas, etc., and other sections for play ground. The enclosure is entirely surrounded by fields of kalo and sugar cane, cultivated by the scholars.

The principal building for the school is a frame school house, 80 feet by 28, one and a half stories high, with a veranda on one side and a thatched roof. In the centre on the ground floor is the school room, 54 feet by 28, in one end of which are seats and desks for seating sixty scholars in a compact form; in the other end, seats and desks arranged for the convenience of dividing the school into several classes. In the end nearest the dwelling house is the teacher's study

16 feet by 18 with movable seats for the accommodation of a class when necessary; also a store room 16 by 10. In the other end of the building is a room 10 by 12 feet for the native guardian and his wife, and a room 10 by 16 with conveniences for lodging five of the smaller boys. The chamber is floored, with the exception of a space in the center four feet broad extending the length of the school room fifty-four feet, which is secured by an open railing four feet high. On the sides are forty-seven sleeping apartments to accommodate one boy each.

The building next in importance is of native construction, glass windows excepted, 48 feet by 24. It contains a dining room and pantry and sleeping apartments for six boys.

The remaining buildings are two of native construction, 24 feet by 18 each. One is used for a cook house, and the other is a convenient place for the accommodation of the sick.

The original cost of these buildings and inclosures was only about \$1,050.

The number of scholars the first year was twelve. It was thought best to receive but a small number at first, until the experiment should be tried, and on account too of heavy pastoral labors that were pressing upon the teacher.

The second year the number was thirty-one; the third, twenty-eight; the fourth, fifty-five; the fifth, fifty-seven; the sixth, sixty-three, which is about the present number. The scholars are furnished by the several stations on Hawaii, in proportion to the population connected with each. It is indeed a school for that large island, and its main feature is that of being preparatory to the Mission Seminary at Lahainaluna.

The scholars rise at 5:00 o'clock, assemble for morning prayers at 5:15, breakfast at 6:15, labor from 7:00 to 8:30, attend school from 9:00 to 11:30, bathe, dine at 12:30, attend school from 1:30 to 4:00, labor from 4:30 to 5:45, supper at 6:15, attend evening prayers at 7:00, and extinguish their lights at 9:00.

A native who was for several years a domestic in the

family of the teacher is employed as an assistant guardian in taking care of the scholars. Native assistants are also employed in giving instruction.

It is the aim of the teacher to open and close every school himself, except those for writing and singing, of which Mrs. Lyman takes charge. During school hours, the teacher spends as much of his time as possible in the school room, though he usually hears recitations in person only half of the day. During the hours of labor and recreation he is with them as circumstances will allow.

The studies most attended to are: arithmetic—mental and written, reading, singing, writing, and geography—general and sacred. Some other branches have been taught to some extent.

Together with these the daily study of the Bible has not been neglected. To train the boys to industrious and moral habits based on the principles of the gospel, has been the chief care of the teacher. And the Bible, whether regarded with reference to its influence in the government of the school, or on their character—mental and moral for time and eternity, must certainly be deemed of more importance than all other books.

The results of the school have more than answered any previous anticipation.

The youth (142) have been shielded in a measure from the temptations of heathen society—have been trained to moral and industrious habits, and have felt the influence of religious truth. The school has been blessed with frequent out-pourings of the Holy Spirit. Many of the scholars have professed to give themselves to the Lord, and a considerable number continue to live in such a manner as leads us to hope that they have done it in the sincerity of their hearts. Forty have entered the Seminary at Lahainaluna, a portion of whom have graduated and are now usefully employed as teachers.

The teacher estimates that not more than one-half of his time and strength has been devoted to the school, the other

half having been imperiously demanded in the general labors of the station.

Besides the boarding school just mentioned, there is also at Hilo a small boarding school for girls under the care of Mrs. Coan. It has suffered several interruptions on account of the health of the teacher and for the want of suitable accommodations, but has made, notwithstanding, considerable progress. It contains a group of about twenty interesting, docile, and promising young girls.

At Waialua on the Island of Oahu, is another boarding school under the care of Mr. Locke. Its plan is self-supporting and agricultural. It has been brought forward gradually, the first measures for its establishment having been taken in 1839. In 1840 nine pupils only were allowed to enter, self support being made a prominent feature; in 1841 the number was increased to nineteen. Much of the time, of course, is given to labor, but study is not neglected. The school is in its incipient stages, but fruits have already been seen. Industry has been promoted in connection with the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of the heart.

Next may be noticed the Family School for the young chiefs. The reasons for establishing such a school were fully considered at the General Meeting of the mission in June, 1839. There seemed to be no school with which they could be advantageously connected. If they should enter the Seminary or other boarding schools, it would be necessary, of course, that they should stand on a level with other scholars, and be governed by the same rules. But such an equality of treatment they could not be expected to acquiesce in. They were unwilling, therefore, to connect themselves with the boarding schools, and the missionaries hesitated in encouraging them to do so. It was feared that their connection with those schools would exert an unhappy influence on the other scholars, while they themselves would receive less benefit than they might under other circumstances.

That they should be in school and under regular and systematic training, was viewed of course to be of immense

importance, both in regard to their own welfare and the welfare of the nation. The old chiefs were rapidly disappearing, and if their children were the persons to fill their places it was vastly important that they should be well prepared. Times had changed. It could no longer be expected that ignorant chiefs would be able to rule the nation. To acquire a good education, or become extinct as chiefs, were the only alternatives.

It was felt also to be a matter of immense importance that they should know, by their own delightful experience, the happiness and the excellence of a well regulated family, and thus stand as high at least as any of their countrymen in the scale of civilization.

The way seemed to be open for the establishment of such a school. The chiefs all along had been unwilling to have their children excluded from a train of attendants, which they considered as being necessary to the very existence of a chief. But they now saw that there was an imperious necessity of having their children properly educated, and began to manifest a readiness to dispense with whatever the good of their children might require, and they at length assented to the plan of having their children taken into a family of a missionary, to be trained up entirely by him. They nominated Mr. Cooke as the person of their choice, and the mission appointed him to that business. He commenced teaching them at first in a day school, a family school being out of the question till buildings of proper accommodations should be erected. Such buildings were not completed so as to be occupied till near the time of the next General Meeting.

The house is pleasantly located in the village of Honolulu, and is seventy-six feet square, enclosing a court thirty-six feet square. The building contains seventeen rooms of various dimensions, including a kitchen, dining room and parlor, lodging rooms for the pupils and assistants, and a school room. Some of the rooms are occupied by Mr. Cooke and family. The building is of adobies—built in an economical style, with a thatched roof. The court is entered from

the street on the west by ample doors, before which, within the court, a lamp is kept burning during the night. From the school room another door opens into a large plat, which affords a spacious and pleasant play ground for the pupils. They also walk or ride daily with their teachers.

John Ii, a faithful, intelligent and substantial member of the church, acts as assistant guardian, and is aided by his wife who is a person of like character. They are able to render very important services and are indispensable helpers in the various arrangements of the family.

It has not been so difficult as was anticipated to govern the school, and to make the scholars contented and happy. The confidence of their parents, too, has been fully gained; all of them seem very much pleased with the prospects of their children. And the king, when surveying the happy group and noticing their improvement, said: "I wish my lot had been like yours; I deeply regret the foolish manner in which I spent the years of my youth."

The plan of instruction is to begin with the English language—to accustom the pupils from early years both to read and to speak it—and then to teach the sciences and communicate various knowledge through that medium. There are many good and substantial reasons for this course, all of which need not be enumerated. It is sufficient to say that it is desirable that the rulers of the land, whether supreme or subordinate, should be able to converse freely with foreigners of respectability visiting the islands, or permanently residing here—the majority of whom speak the English language. Besides, a familiar knowledge of the English tongue, if acquired, will open before the expanding mind a boundless field of literature—scientific, political and religious. The difficulty of accomplishing the task is the main reason why the study of English is not generally introduced in schools in the islands. A family school with young scholars certainly presents the best possible advantages for mastering a new and difficult language. The success, hitherto, has been very encouraging, as all testify who have attended the examinations of the school. A number of the

scholars are already beginning to use English text books, and are acquiring through that medium a knowledge of arithmetic, grammar, geography, and other like studies. Six or eight of the oldest scholars have made considerable progress.

The number of the young chiefs is fourteen, and as there is hope that they will hereafter be persons of importance in the nation, it may not be amiss to give here their names, ancestry and rank.

Moses Kekuaiwa, son of Kekuanaoa and Kinau, born July 20, 1829, adopted by Kaikioewa, and now prospective governor of Kauai.

Lot Kamehameha, brother of Moses, born December 11, 1830, adopted by Hoapili, and prospective governor of Maui.

Alexander Liholiho, brother of Moses and Lot, born February 9, 1834, adopted by the king, and heir apparent.

Victoria Kamamalu, sister of Moses, Lot, and Alexander, born November 1, 1838, Successor of her mother.

William Charles Lunalilo, son of Kekauluohi and Kanaina, born January 31, 1835.

Bernice Pauahi, daughter of Paki and Konia, born December 19, 1831, adopted by Kinau.

Abigail Maheha, daughter of Namile and Liliha, adopted by Kekauonohi, born July 10, 1832.

Jane Loeau, half sister of Abigail, daughter of Kalaniulumoku and Liliha, adopted by Ahukai (Kaukualii), born ————probably in 1828.

Elizabeth Kekaniau, daughter of Laanui, born September 11, 1834.

Emma Rooke, daughter of Fanny Young, adopted by T. C. B. Rooke, M. D. (English), born January 2, 1836.

Peter Young Kaeo, son of Kaeo and Lahilahi, adopted by John Young, born March 4, 1836.

James Kaliokalani, son of Pakea and Kaohokalole, born May 29, 1835.

David Kalakaua, brother of James, born November 16, 1836, adopted by Kinimaka and Haaheo (Kaniu).

Lydia Makaeha, sister of James and David, born September 2, 1838, adopted by Paki and Konia.

This latter scholar did not come into the family until June, 1842. Emma also did not commence coming to school until January, 1842.

The school from the commencement has received much of its support from the government, and the king and chiefs at their last council assumed also the support of the instructors.

The scholars are attached to their guardians and instructors, strictly temperate, correct in their deportment, docile, studious and attentive to religious truth. Let all who have an interest at the throne of grace pray earnestly for the crowning influences of the Holy Spirit.

The Oahu Charity School, having an important connection with the interests of this nation, it is proper that some account of it should be given. In stating the facts, I shall avail myself of a historical notice of the school, which appeared a few years since in the *Hawaiian Spectator*, from the pen of Rev. John Diell.

Of the reinforcement to the mission which arrived in the spring of 1831, Mr. Andrew Johnstone and his wife were members. As the port of Honolulu was not at that time supplied with a chaplain to seamen, Mr. Johnstone agreeably to an understanding had with his patrons previously to his embarkation from the United States, devoted a part of his time to visiting seamen, and to distributing Bibles and tracts among them. On these visits he naturally fell in with many half caste children and youth who were roaming the streets in idleness and exposed to almost certain ruin. He noticed them with kindness, and some of them soon came to his house to be taught to read. He cheerfully complied with the request and the exercise soon became a stated one; Mr. Johnstone devoting a part of every day to the instruction of the boys that came to his house. An interest was soon awakened among the residents of Honolulu, and the idea of a regular school suggested. Suitable accommodations were needed for a school, and a proposition was made by the foreign residents

to erect a school house. The subscription which was opened to raise funds for the erection of the school house was met with a liberal spirit on the part of the foreign residents and of the shipmasters in port. A large donation was made to the object by the officers and seamen of the United States frigate *Potomac*, then on a visit to the islands. The king granted a lot of ground for the accommodation of the school, with the understanding that the occupants should receive from the funds of the school an equivalent for being dispossessed of the lot. On the 3rd of September, 1832, at a meeting of the subscribers to the funds of the school, a board of trustees was elected.

A neat, substantial building of coral was erected, 36 feet long and 26 wide, at an expense of about \$1,800. It was fitted up with benches and other conveniences for a school room, and the cupola was furnished with a bell. On the 10th of January, 1833, the house was set apart, by a public address on the occasion, to the purposes for which it had been erected. In a few days afterwards the school was opened by Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone in the new building with thirty-five scholars, which was the average number during the first year. At the request of the trustees of the school, who had now assumed the support of Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone, they asked and received permission from the Sandwich Islands' Mission at their annual meeting in 1833 to continue their services as teachers of the school. That approbation continued to be granted from year to year till 1835. During that year the connection of Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone with the mission was dissolved, and for the obvious reason that the school did not come within the objects of the mission and was one over which the American Board had no control.

The average number of scholars the second year was forty-five, and has been since from year to year increasing. There has been no lack of scholars—there have been more indeed than the teachers could well instruct. A number of boys have been sent in to the school from California and from the Russian settlements on the North-west Coast, who

have been taken into the family of the teacher as boarding scholars.

A liberal disposition has ever been manifested by the foreign residents toward the school, first in building a school house and next in building a house for the teacher and affording him a support.

The school is a very important one. The influence of youth who are half-caste, or rather half European, must eventually be very considerable upon the unmixed natives of the islands. Such has been the case in all lands. Facts to illustrate this assertion are so common that it is needless to refer to them. Such an influence at these islands is beginning already to be seen and felt. Our sympathies and efforts, therefore, should be called forth towards half caste children, first because their interests for time and eternity are as dear as those of any other persons, and in the next place because their influence for good or evil will soon be very conspicuous upon the mass of native inhabitants. Without school discipline, accompanied with moral and religious instruction, how deplorable the condition of such children and youth, surrounded as they are with every temptation and with every demoralizing influence! With such a school there is certainly room for encouragement and hope. The examinations of the school have been very satisfactory to all who have attended.

It remains to speak of select or station schools and the common school system. It has already been said that when the old school system fell into decay, in the memorable year of 1833, the missionaries at most of the stations began to apply themselves in person to the instruction of select schools. No small amount of time was devoted in this way, for it seemed absolutely indispensable that better teachers should be raised up before the schools generally could be resuscitated. These select schools had to struggle with many difficulties. There were no comfortable school houses, no apparatus and but few school books. Comfortable school houses, with the requisite fixtures and apparatus, properly qualified teachers, an adequate support for such teachers, and good

school books were branches of the school question that occupied much thought and attention, and were presented fully before our patrons in the United States. As soon as returns could be received, we were allowed to expend a small sum in effecting such objects, and at the General Meeting in 1836 it was voted to erect as soon as practicable one model school house at each station at an expense not exceeding \$200. A considerable number of scholars had completed their course at the Seminary and some others of equal qualifications had been trained up at the select schools at the several stations. It was voted that a moderate sum, from \$100 to \$150, be allowed to each station to employ such persons as teachers. About the same rate of appropriation was renewed the succeeding year (1837). That year the mission received from the United States the valuable accession of eight qualified teachers. With the aid of these teachers and graduates from the Mission Seminary, and the comfortable school houses that had been erected and some small appropriations from the mission, schools began to improve. Attention was particularly turned to children. Various means were used to collect the children in schools.

On the island of Maui a law was proclaimed by the governor, Hoapili, requiring parents to send their children to school. The law, though merely a local one, and having no sanction but that of the governor, operated very favorably.

This continued to be the gradually improving condition of schools till 1841, when definite school laws were enacted by the king and chiefs in council. These laws provided for the erection of school houses, the attendance of scholars and the support of teachers. Some difficulty was experienced in carrying the laws into execution on account of opposition from the Romanists. In 1842, the laws were so revised as to avoid, if possible, any complaints from that sect, extending privileges to parents who should send their children to school instead of directly requiring them to send, and providing for the support of teachers rather from public sources than by direct tax upon the parents. It remains to hope that reflection and experience will ultimately show the most de-

sirable arrangement. There is evidently a willing mind on the part of the king and chiefs to make liberal provision for schools, and who will not pray that wisdom, means and the power to execute may not be wanting?

Having thus passed through a historical sketch, I would take occasion to remark that what I have said in regard to the necessity and character of schools at the Sandwich Islands applies with equal force and with little modification to Africa, Ceylon, Asia Minor, India, Greece, and almost every missionary field. The reasons I have urged are of almost universal application. From one heathen nation we may learn, in a measure, the wants of all. And we ought not to restrict our view, but look at the wide world. To do, then, for all nations what I have urged in behalf of the Sandwich Islands, how great and extensive a work! How vast the number of men, and how immense the amount of means, which seem necessary to elevate all nations, and gain over the whole earth to the permanent dominion of the Lord Jesus Christ! Can 300,000,000 of pagan children and youth be trained and instructed by a few hands? Can the means of instructing them be furnished by the mere farthing and pence of the church? Will it not be some time yet before ministers and church-members will need to be idle a moment for the want of work? Is there any danger of our being cut off from the blessed privilege either of giving or of going? There is a great work yet to be done—a noble work—a various and difficult work—a work worthy of God's power, God's resources, and God's wisdom. What christendom has as yet done is scarcely worthy of being called a commencement. When God shall bring such energies into action as shall be commensurate with the greatness of the work—when he shall cause every redeemed sinner, by the abundant influences of his holy Spirit, to lay himself out wholly in the great enterprise, then there will be a sight of moral sublimity that shall rivet the gaze of angels. Angels may gaze, wonder, and admire, but we may have the higher honor of being co-workers with God in accomplishing the glorious event. God forbid that any of us should undervalue the

honor or fail of receiving it. Let us love toil, love self-denial, and love to die, if necessary, in so glorious a work as that of the world's conversion. To fail to do this when a world is sinking, and there is an immensity of work to be done, who, who will incur the responsibility? It is a responsibility of amazing and fearful extent.

Keeping in mind this fearful responsibility, let us turn our thoughts again to the interesting nature of the work. I have said that our missionary schools are both important and full of interest, and while I direct your attention to those at the islands, we may, if we choose, regard them as merely examples of what may be seen in many foreign fields.

Enter, then, the Mission seminary, and look upon the assembled group of young men. They are decently clad, and are trained to habits of economy and systematic industry; have regular hours for study, labor, recreation, eating and sleep. Many of them are pious; perhaps one-third or one-half of the whole number. They answer with readiness questions in history, philosophy, and religion, and demonstrate with precision problems and theorems in the exact sciences. They are in a process of training to be teachers and preachers to their own countrymen, and to other barbarous nations. Already scholars from the school have been of immense service as teachers, catechists, exhorters, and as advisors to the chiefs.

Enter the Female Seminary at Wailuku and the boarding school for girls at Hilo, and look upon the clustered group. Propriety and neatness are seen in their humble dress—sprightliness and discretion characterize their deportment. It cannot be otherwise but they shall exert a great influence upon society and be models for imitation. They are not only instructed in science, but trained as a family in correct and systematic habits. More than one-half are professedly, and we hope, truly pious.

Enter the boarding school at Hilo, and the school also at Waialua, and look upon the sparkling eyes and bright countenances of a group of boys. They are decently clad,

sitting with books in their hands, and exhibiting a docile and attentive spirit.

Visit the family school for the young chiefs, and see the lawful heirs of the kingdom growing up under regular instruction and all the happy influences of a well ordered and delightful family.

And then go from village to village, and from district to district, and visit the vast number of common schools. At the Sandwich Islands there have been at times from fifty to one hundred and fifty district schools connected with each station. At a quarterly examination, when they assembled at the center, they formed so great a multitude that no house could contain them. At some stations from five to seven thousand learners could be seen with books in their hands, and covering like a cloud the wide plain. The former system of schools, however, having accomplished most that it could accomplish, has ceased to exist. Schools now are less numerous, but better organized, and furnished with more competent teachers. They are mostly for children. A considerable portion of the children are now trained in schools.

These schools are not only an interesting feature in our operations, but they are, too, for the reasons enumerated, vastly important. Missionaries appreciate their importance and feel it deeply—far more deeply than it is possible for their patrons at home to conceive of. Nothing takes a deeper hold of a missionary's feelings than his schools of children and youth. They are dear to him as the great hope of his toils, and they are dear, too, as his adopted children.

It cheered our hearts when we were told a few years ago to devise liberal things in regard to them, and to press forward in enterprise. We readily obeyed—multiplied our schools, and gathered in many interesting and sprightly groups of children.

Our brethren in Ceylon and in other missionary fields did the same. But when they and we were joyfully engaged in this work, a voice came from over the great deep. Oh! what a voice was that! It required them to disband their schools and to send back the objects of their toil and care,

several thousand in number, to all the abominations, vice, and ruin of their former state. Well might a missionary exclaim: "What an offering to Shamy!"

At the Sandwich Islands it crippled our Mission Seminary for young men, and also our Female Seminary, and blotted out in a measure the bright prospects we had formed of preparatory boarding schools.

My readers can little appreciate the trial of a missionary when called to disband his school. Look at it a moment. A missionary meets his scholars for the last time. His countenance is dejected and sad. He gazes upon them a while, as they sit neatly clad and properly arranged upon their seats. He calls to mind their former state—the dens of crime and the pit of pollution from which they were taken. He thinks of the pains and toil already expended in training them, and of the cheering hopes he had fondly entertained. He then turns the picture, and looks at the gloomy prospect now before them—that these, his adopted children—the objects of his affections, his prayers, and his unwearied toil, must be sent back to wander, stumble, and fall—to sink down from the gate of heaven to the pit of woe. With such emotions, he gazes upon the interesting flock—the anguish of his spirit dries up his tears and chains his tongue in silence. Then stifling his feelings, he forces out the sad intelligence that this is the last time of their meeting. The children in tears reluctantly leave the room, and the teacher retires—for what? To sleep, think you? or to spend the night on his knees in deep sorrow and agony of spirit?

Is this a fictitious scene? I wish it were. History has to record too much of the living reality. And in view of facts like these, can you enjoy, Christian brethren, your various luxuries—can you find relish in them?

A little incident that occurred at the time very affectingly shows the feelings of one heart. O that there were many such! It was a pious female in the state of Illinois. She said to her husband one evening that she had been thinking whether she could not do something to resuscitate one of the heathen schools. "Well," said he, "you may, if you can

afford to forego one gratification." They had laid a lovely child in the grave. They were about to send for a stone, which would cost \$25.00, as a memento of affection, to be placed at the head of this little grave. "But," said the mother, "I would rather do something for these living children than gratify my fond feelings for the memory of the dead." The order for the stone was arrested, and the money given to resuscitate a heathen school.

What this female did shall be had in sweet remembrance long after the memory of the wicked shall have perished.

Let all Christians thus feel, thus act, and humbly and fervently pray, and how many schools, think you, would be disbanded?

Most of the disbanded schools have been revived, but are still very much crippled in their operations. The buildings of the Mission Seminary at the islands are constructed to accommodate between 150 and 200 students, and the students can be had at any moment when the requisite funds and the requisite number of instructors shall be furnished. Several boarding schools are needed on the different islands, and plans for them had been projected, but there are not funds or teachers to carry them into operation.

The revival at the islands renders seminaries and other schools of double importance. The youth converted should be in these schools—in a process of training, to be helpers in the great work, which has become so heavy that the missionaries cannot carry it. Unless this is done an immense advantage will be lost—a golden opportunity suffered to pass by unimproved. Unless the seminaries can be carried forward with vigor it is to be feared that a reaction will take place. How can one man watch over a church of three thousand members with no deacons or elders to stay up his hands? It seems scarcely possible to retain what has been gained without raising up many native helpers to take hold of the work. All things are now ready. Now is the time. More, perhaps, may be done now in a year than some time hence in ten. Vigorous efforts must be speedily made, or much, very much must be lost. This is a truth, the force of which every thinking mind must feel at once, and feel deeply.

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT REVIVAL.

State of Feeling in 1836—Spirit Manifest in 1837—Wakefulness Apparent—Practice in Admitting to the Church—The Admissions—Large Congregations—Interesting Scenes—Fruits of the Revival—Human Indiscretion—Numerous Admissions Accounted For—Encouragement.

The God of missions has watched over His own precious cause at the Sandwich Islands with constant care, and has given from time to time special indications of His favor. Several instances might be referred to of more than usual attention to the subject of religion. There have been times when the interest was general throughout the islands and other times when it was confined mostly to particular stations. One period is now more commonly spoken of as the time of special attention and deep feeling throughout the islands, and is often referred to under the appellation of “the great revival.”

Much preparatory work had been done previous to the ushering in of this favored season. The Gospel had been preached at several stations on the islands for many years, and the number of permanent posts where the glad news of salvation were statedly proclaimed, had been gradually increased to seventeen. The number of laborers, also, had been increased in the same proportion. The Bible had been translated and printed, and considerable portions of it had, for a number of years, been in the hands of the people. Other books, also,—school books and religious tracts,—had been prepared, printed and circulated. About one-fourth of the population could read. The influence of the seminaries, boarding schools, select and common schools began to be felt. Mind was in a measure aroused, disciplined and qualified to reflect. Teachers of some education and thought were scattered throughout the group. In a word, the appointed means had been used—a

preparation had been made—and the crowning influences of the spirit were not withheld. To trace the revival, in its commencement, progress and main features is the object of this chapter.

The General Meeting, at which almost all the missionaries were present, in 1836, was a time of great interest. The utmost harmony and love prevailed. Every mind was wholly absorbed in the momentous topic of the world's conversion and every heart seemed to feel—to feel much—and to feel deeply, for the millions of our dying race. All, as if by a general impression from on high, were thoroughly convinced that the present measure of prayer and effort among Christians was not the instrumentality needed to usher in the millennial day. All resolved, in God's strength, to pray much and with more fervor, and to keep in their eye a higher style of action. A circular containing the full and overflowing sentiments of each heart was sent to the churches of the United States.

During the year refreshings from on high of some extent were experienced at most of the stations. It was a common remark among the missionaries that the spirit of our general meeting seemed to be blessed of the Lord—that the state of mind which led us to pray much and to think much in behalf of the millions of our race in the wide field of the world, was indeed a preparation of heart for revivals among ourselves. This was the pleasant state of the mission during the year, but no very powerful out-pouring of the Spirit was experienced.

At the General Meeting of June, 1837, there was exhibited much of the same earnestness and feeling of deep responsibility in view of a dying world. And it exhibited itself not only in sending entreaties to our Christian brethren in the United States, but also in mutual exhortations to pray much and to labor with more faithfulness in our immediate field—to honor God by having higher aims and more confident expectations.

To this strength of feeling God was pleased to add a chastened and solemn aspect. This He did by the afflictive

dispensations of His Providence. A few months before the general meeting He had taken home to Himself a dear sister of the mission. Now, again, as the missionaries and their families were all assembled, He saw best to appear suddenly in the very midst of us and repeat the stroke by removing one of the youngest and most promising, both for health and usefulness, of our whole number. On the Sabbath day she was seen in the house of God. She had been recently afflicted by the death of an infant. The mild expression of her countenance exhibited a chastened, mellow, and heavenly spirit. She was in health, and her prospects in life were fair and bright. But this Sabbath was her last on earth—the next she spent with her Savior on high. The few days of her sickness we saw a Christian suffer, and at the closing scene we saw a Christian die.

Nearly all the members of the mission were present. The admonition was meant for all; and the Holy Spirit, very evidently, applied the lesson to every heart.

It was painful to see the mourning husband as he embarked on board the brig with his little son, the only surviving member of his family, to go back to his distant station and his lonely home. But the Savior went with him. And the first intelligence we heard from his station (the station of Waimea, on Hawaii), God was pouring out His Spirit there,—reviving His children and bringing to repentance many precious souls. This, perhaps, may be regarded as the commencement of the great revival.

At the same time the Holy Spirit seemed to be hovering over many stations. At Wailuku, on Maui, there appeared to be a hearing ear. A spirit of inquiry and increased attention were manifest. Meetings began to be full and solemn. In this state of things a protracted meeting was appointed.

The meeting was one of interest, though in most who attended there seemed to be more wakeful attention than real concern for the soul.

There was a similar state of wakefulness and inquiry at most of the stations—and here and there conversations dur-

ing the summer and the early part of the fall of that year. Late in the fall there were still more marked indications of the presence of the Holy Spirit at many of the stations. At Waimea, on Hawaii, sixty-one individuals were admitted to the church in November and seventy-five were propounded for admission. At Hilo thirty-one persons were admitted at the same time.

The work continued to increase in power, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of Hawaii, and on the first Sabbath in January the admissions to the churches at Waimea and Hilo were quite numerous.

As early as the first of March, 1838, there was evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit at nearly all the stations on Hawaii, and also on Oahu, Maui, and Kauai;—His influences were shed down more generally and abundantly than had ever been known before, and at some stations, apparently, in wonderful effusions. Preaching seemed to chain the audience. The gospel became the power of God. There was a shaking and noise among the dry bones. In many instances, wherever the truth was proclaimed, conviction and conversion seemed immediately to follow. O, as the messengers of mercy then stood between the living and the dead and pointed sinners to the lamb of God it cheered their hearts to see the tear of tenderness, the fixed eye, the eagerness to catch and keep the words of the preacher.

Some members of the church of good character began to quake—to examine themselves and repent. Prayer began to be offered with much fervency and often with strong crying and tears. The burden of all seemed to be, of many professing Christians as well as sinners, an oppressive sense of guilt in view of the amazing mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Neglected, despised, rejected mercy was the whole topic.

In April following, the power of the work became still more wonderful. It became distinctly evident that there was no limit to the power of the Holy Spirit. Under His operation the dull and stupid became attentive; the imbecile and ignorant, who seemed scarcely capable of any mental exertion, began to think; and the wretched, vile, low and

groveling, who had not appeared to possess conscience enough to be operated upon, began to feel, and to feel deeply. It was truly a time of the right hand of the Most High.

The work progressed, and at the General Meeting in June (1838) the converts who had been received to the churches were numbered by thousands! At some of the stations the work had declined and at others it was advancing with unabated power. And such continued to be the state of things during the succeeding year; great interest being manifested at many places and attended apparently with numerous conversions, so that the united voice of the mission at the General Meeting in June, 1839, was as follows: "The past has been a year of unexampled prosperity to the Redeemer's Kingdom throughout the islands. At the close of the last year, the work of the Holy Spirit was going on in a most glorious manner at nearly all the stations and the work so commenced has, to the praise of divine grace, advanced with steady progress."

In admitting members to the church there was some difference of practice among the missionaries. What else could have been expected at such a time of overwhelming excitement among a body of more than twenty ministers of the Gospel who had been collected from all parts of the United States and each possessing, of course, some notions peculiar to the place from which he came? Some admitted converts in great numbers, and very soon after their hopeful conversion. Others admitted but few, and those after a much longer probation. It would not be safe to judge of the relative power of the work at the different stations by the number of converts that were admitted. Some, perhaps, were too slow in receiving the lambs to the fold, but there is more reason to fear that others, under the ardor and strength of feeling, were too hasty. The following language was the united expression of sentiment by the missionaries at the time: "We fear that the increase of strength to our churches has not been in proportion to the increase of numbers. We fear that we may have erred in judgment, in some cases, in receiving too hastily to the church those who profess to have

been converted, and we may have occasion hereafter to regret having done so. We fear we may find hereafter that many have deceived us and themselves in this important matter, and that they will live with the veil upon their hearts in this state of deception till the light of eternity shall tear it from them and reveal to them their true characters. The seal, however, is a blessed one, 'the Lord knoweth them that are His.' "

To determine the course which ought to be pursued in relation to professing converts at the Sandwich Islands is a most difficult task and one that requires great wisdom. In no field of labor perhaps, more than in this, was there ground to expect that the parable of the sower would be fully verified.

The whole number of hopeful converts admitted to the churches and the relative proportion at each station may be given at once by contrasting the statistical tables of 1837 and 1840:

STATIONS.	Whole No. of ad. the ch. on exam- ination in 1837.	Whole No. of ad. the ch. on exam- ination in 1840.	Increase in three years.
Hawaii:—			
Kailua	214	740	526
Hilo	92	7,463	7,371
Waimea	36	5,326	5,290
Kohala		858	858
Kealakekua	110	851	741
Maui:—			
Lahaina	247	513	266
Wailuku	18	691	673
Hana		150	150
Molokai	24	349	325
Oahu:—			
Kaneohe	8	199	191
Honolulu, 1	280	1,075	795
Honolulu, 2		1,159	1,159
Ewa	22	969	947
Waialua	27	553	526
Kauai:—			
Waimea	104	211	107
Koloa	55	202	147
Waioli	22	70	58
	1,259	21,379	20,120

As appears from the table, at most of the stations large accessions were made to the churches and at some places converts were admitted in vast multitudes, particularly at Hilo and Waimea, on the Island of Hawaii, and next at Honolulu and Ewa, on the Island of Oahu. The table is liable to give a wrong impression to a reader at a distance, and to any one indeed who is not familiarly acquainted with the state of things at the Islands. It is now generally believed that stations where only a few hundred souls were admitted to the church enjoyed about as powerful and about as extensive a work of grace as where thousands were admitted. Different principles of judging and different notions of church care led to the difference in numbers. A few thoughts on this point will be given presently.

The means used in the revival were those which God has appointed for the salvation of souls—the prayers of the church, the preaching of the gospel, conversing with the people in small companies, and with individuals, and visiting from house to house. Protracted meetings were also held at all the stations, and at some stations they were repeated several times. The manner of conducting them was very simple, much of the time being given to the plain preaching of God's truth, and the intervals being occupied with prayer. These meetings were greatly blessed.

At most of the stations no measures were taken to excite the feelings, aside from a simple declaration of the truth. There were some exceptions, as was to have been expected among so many laborers and at a time of such intense excitement.

It would naturally be supposed that those pastors, whose excited minds and peculiar views allowed of admitting professing converts to the churches by thousands, would be the persons to use special measures to operate upon the feelings of a congregation. Such was the fact. The special measures, however, were not probably so much designed, as naturally incident to a kind of uncontrollable state of tumultuous feeling both on the part of the pastor and the people. The pastor in some instances descended from the

pulpit and paced through the midst of the congregation, preaching and gesturing with intense emotion. Sometimes, all the members of a large congregation were permitted to pray aloud at once. And again, at times, many expressed their fears and sense of guilt by audible groans and loud cries. Feelings were not restrained. Ignorant heathen are not accustomed to restrain their feelings, but to manifest their emotions by outward signs—more so, by far, than people who are intelligent and cultivated. Perhaps their feelings were too intense to be restrained, and necessarily burst forth in shrieks and loud lamentations. Certainly it is not for those whose habits are different and who have not been in such scenes, and felt thus intensely, and experienced such apparent power from on high, to say how far such expressions of intense emotion could or should have been controlled. Such measures and such indications of feeling were confined almost entirely to Eastern and Northern Hawaii. As a general remark, taking all the stations into view, very little use was made of special means. The missionaries merely aimed, with much simplicity and plainness, to impart correct conceptions of the character of God, the nature of sin, the plan of salvation, the work of the Spirit, and the nature of true religion. Especially did they insist on the sin and danger of rejecting an offered Savior. The hearts of the people were tender; and under such truths as I have named, the house of worship was often a scene of sighing and of weeping.

The congregations during these revivals were immense. The congregation at Ewa was obliged, on account of its size, to leave their chapel and meet under a shelter 165 feet long by 72 feet wide, sitting in a compact mass in number as estimated about 4,000. There are two congregations at the town of Honolulu—one was estimated at about 2,500 souls and the other between 3,000 and 4,000. At Wailuku a house 92 by 42 feet was found too strait, and the people commenced building a new one 100 by 50. At Hilo congregations were estimated as containing at times between 5,000 and 6,000 souls. The prayer meetings were frequently ad-

journed from the lecture room to the body of the church.

During this great work the anxiety of the missionaries was intense, their sense of responsibility exceedingly oppressive, and the amount of labor very great. In some instances they preached from seven to twenty times a week. And almost all were so pressed from daylight in the morning till late at night as scarcely to allow them time to eat or to spend half an hour with their families. Such frequent preaching, and such a constant throng of inquirers, in addition to other cares, would have broken down the laborers, had not the fatigue been of a delightful kind containing within itself a principle of resuscitation.

Scenes were witnessed during this revival which were full of the deepest and tenderest interest.

All classes crowded to the place of worship. The children thrust themselves in wherever they could find a little vacancy. Old, hardened transgressors, who had scarcely been to the house of God, were now there in tears, melted down under the power of omnipotent truth. The blind were seen led along the way to the house of God, sometimes by a parent, sometimes by a child, and sometimes by a grandchild, just as they were tottering over the grave. Cripples, also, were seen crawling on their hands and feet—laboring hard to get to God's temple. And in the vast assembly what sacredness and solemnity—the visible presence of God Almighty, and the immediate operation of His Holy Spirit.

And could we have entered a prayer-meeting we should have witnessed the tears, the soul-melting fervor, the earnest importunity, and the strong wrestling—pleadings which honor God and which God loves to honor.

And then could we have gazed at the immense and motley throng coming up to the table of the Lord,—we should have seen men of hoary age, and those who had formerly been guilty of every species of iniquity and crime, and many children, too, among the number, the hope and joy of the nation.

To this general description a few words may be added. Nearly three years have elapsed—a sufficient time to test

the fruits of the revival and to form a sober opinion of its character. It may be said then in the first place:

(1.) That it cannot be doubted that there was really a revival, deep and genuine in the hearts of the missionaries themselves. There was among them much searching of heart, deep humiliation, strong feeling for perishing sinners throughout the heathen world and especially for those at these islands, and much earnest, importunate and agonizing prayer.

(2.) Neither can it be doubted that the Holy Spirit was poured down on the churches and congregations throughout the islands, and at some places very abundantly. Such was the uniform belief and testimony, at the time, of all the laborers in the field, consisting of more than twenty ordained ministers of the Gospel and nearly the same number of intelligent laymen. And now in the retrospect, after the lapse of nearly three years, such continues to be their belief and testimony. Among so many witnesses, collected from all parts of the United States, and differing considerably in their training and prejudices, there is of course a variety of views in regard to different aspects of the revival, but no one would dare assert that a work of grace was not experienced; most pronounce it a powerful work, and some term it wonderful and unprecedented. The revival was the same in character with what had taken place before in several instances at particular stations, and the same also with what has been experienced at several places the last two years. It differed only in being more powerful and more general throughout the whole group. We shall be very much disappointed if, at the judgment day, it shall not appear that many souls were not at that time truly converted.

(3.) A large portion of those persons who were reckoned as converts in the revival, and who were admitted to the communion of the church, maintain and exhibit about the same standard of piety as those members maintain who had been previously admitted. They are all, compared with mature christians in enlightened lands, mere babes in Christ.

(4.) There were doubtless instances of human indiscre-

tion in the management of the work. But there is reason to fear that readers at a distance will overrate the errors or at least not be ready to make that allowance for mistakes committed which justice and truth require.

Some injudicious means at a few places have already been explained. And hasty and numerous admissions to the church also can easily be accounted for. There has not been a time since the great turning in the days of Kaahumanu, when the great majority of the people have not professed to be serving the Lord, and when they would not readily and joyfully have entered the church if permitted to do so. Pastors have been obliged continually to stand, as it were, in the attitude of pushing back eager applicants from the door of the church. It has been common for a pastor to remark after admitting a few members to his church, say ten, that he saw no reason why he should admit these ten rather than one hundred, and after admitting one hundred, remark again that as many more candidates perhaps were quite as promising.

In such a state of things, some few pastors have inclined to the sentiment that it was best to be free in admitting members and equally prompt in suspending them, that they dared not exclude from the fold a multitude who might be the tender lambs of Christ, that it was duty to receive them even though discipline should speedily follow. Others have thought best to admit but very few members to the church—almost none at all—saying that if ten were Christians one hundred or more were, and they knew not where to draw the line, and moreover that the same persons would continue to be more wakeful and give better evidence of piety out of the church than if admitted, for when admitted they would consider that the point was gained and relax into remissness and stupidity. Most of the missionaries have taken a middle course between these two extremes.

It has been at the islands as it was with the Israelites. When Moses, Joshua, Josiah, or Ezra exhorted the Israelites to turn to the Lord, the whole multitude turned and professed to serve and honor God. Who, but the Omniscient

One, could tell how many of the multitude at such times began to serve him in sincerity and truth? Exhort the people of these islands to turn to God, they readily do so; and as a mass, if it be a time of unusual excitement, begin to read the Bible and pray to the Savior. Who can tell who are converted or who should enter the church, especially if they are to be admitted within a few months? You may admit ten to the church, or you may admit one hundred, or one thousand.

Again, Sandwich Islanders, like all ignorant people, are readily carried away with excitement, and when under the control of excitement are both liable to be deceived themselves in regard to their real state and to put on appearances that may deceive others. A pastor, too, when his feelings are intensely wrought upon in a powerful revival, is more liable to be deceived than at other times. He is exposed to reason thus: God hears prayer. The prayer of faith, I trust, has been offered with earnestness, meekness and importunity. Sinners are awakened and apparently converted. It must be that prayer has been heard, and that these souls are truly converted. It would be sinful to doubt that this is the fact. It is proper to acknowledge it and give glory to God. This multitude, who have turned, are the lambs of Christ's flock, and what am I that I should exclude them from the fold? I will receive them even though the number be five or ten thousand, and let God have the praise throughout the earth for so glorious a work. The apostles did so. They did not wait a year to have conversions tested. The lambs left that time without might be devoured by wolves.

It can easily be seen that such a train of reasoning as this, at a time of deep excitement, would naturally lead to the admission of professing converts in great numbers, and after only a short probation.

It should be kept in mind that hasty and numerous admissions and extravagant indications of feeling, took place at only a few stations. What great revival ever took place in this world that was not attended with imperfections that were afterwards regretted? With every deduction that may

be made it must be allowed that a great work was wrought by the Holy Spirit, and in view of it every Christian heart must exclaim: Blessed be the Lord our God forever. Let heaven and earth praise Him. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. Let us take courage and press onward. Let us pray that this great multitude of feeble ones may be safely nurtured and become the strong men of the Lord Almighty, and that other revivals of equal and greater power, and attended with fewer imperfections of men, may become frequent and continuous at these islands, and wherever there are christians to be revived or sinners to be converted.

There is hope of the world's conversion. God has come down and told us that there is hope. A ray of light is sent to cheer us. Such a revival presents a new era in our work among the heathen. It seems to indicate that if christians will pray much, and labor on, the time may not be far distant when, like Moses, they may be allowed to climb to the top of the mountain, see in the horizon the approaching consummation of their desires and efforts,—feel that it is enough—quietly breathe out their spirits and go home to Jesus.

CHAPTER XI.

EFFORTS OF THE PAPAL MISSIONARIES.

Afflictions—Death of Chiefs—Introduction of Romanism—John Rives—Arrival of Papal Missionaries—Their Reception by Boki—No Permission to Reside—First Mass—Effort of Chiefs to Suppress Romanism—Intolerance, so-called, Accounted for—Priests Ordered to Leave—Are Sent to California—Reasons Therefor—Arrival of Mr. Walch—Return of Bachlot and Short—Residence Denied Them—Arrival of Maigret and Others—Departure of Maigret and Bachlot—Law of Toleration—Testimony of the King—Influence of the Protestants—Views Entertained—Laplace Manifesto—Treaty Imposed—Views of Laplace's Conduct—Effects of the Treaty—Progress of Romanism.

It is a common remark that, in the government of God, seasons of great prosperity and special favor to any people are usually succeeded by severe chastisements and heavy judgments. The fact can easily be accounted for. In some instances the time of special grace and mercy may be no more nor less than a harvest time preceeding a sweeping destruction—the gathering in of God's chosen ones from among a people preparatory to a general overthrow which his justice may require. In other instances prosperity and special mercies, producing in depraved hearts high-mindedness and self-confidence instead of humble gratitude which ought to be the fruit, chastisements become necessary and indispensable; and as severe and heavy as previous mercies were rich and free. Then, again, adversity may be mingled, as it were, with prosperity as a preventive to self-sufficiency and pride—as a kind and timely correction.

It ought not to surprise us, therefore, that the great revival at the Sandwich Islands was soon succeeded by sore afflictions, perplexities and trials.

Many of the chiefs were soon taken away by death, many, indeed, who were valued helpers in the cause of good order and true religion. Kinau, the Premier, died April

4th, 1839. Kaikioewa, Governor of Kauai, died six days afterwards, April 10th. Liliha, wife of Boki, who, during the revival, had forsaken her course of opposition and embraced Christianity, died soon after, August 24th. Hoapili, governor of Maui, a stable chief and a constant christian, died January 3rd, 1840.

But the death of firm and substantial chiefs, though a severe affliction, was but the beginning of trials. A much heavier calamity was at hand. This was the conduct of Captain Laplace, commanding the French frigate *l'Artemise*. His proceedings were in consequence of alleged insult to France and to its sovereign, offered by the Hawaiian government, in persecuting the Roman Catholic religion, tarnishing it by the name of idolatry and in expelling from the islands, under that accusation, certain French subjects of clerical character.

That the nature of these proceedings may be understood it is proper, in this place, to give a history of the introduction of Papal missionaries to these islands, their efforts and the treatment which they have received.

The first instance of the performance of Papal ceremonies at the islands is back in the days of idolatry and deep ignorance. In August of the year 1819, the French corvette *l'Uranie*, M. Freycinet commander, visited these islands. It remained for a few days at Kawaihae bay, on the island of Hawaii. The king, Kamehameha, had died at Kailua on that island in May preceding and Liholiho, his son and heir, with a train of chiefs, had left Kailua for Kawaihae, to avoid ceremonial pollution. While they were at Kawaihae engaged in excesses and drunkenness—the heathen manner of mourning for the dead—the corvette *l'Uranie* came to anchor. Liholiho and his chiefs, among whom was Kalanimoku, went on board several times to trade, and particularly to obtain ardent spirits. Kalanimoku went on board oftener, perhaps, than others and attracted the attention of the chaplain, M. l'Abbe de Quelin, who proposed to baptise him, as was indeed his avowed practice at the many islands which he visited during the voyage. He must have made known the

proposition by signs rather than by words, and Kalanimoku have received the ceremony without the least apprehension of its meaning. He received it, and then "after exchanging presents with M. Freycinet" (as M. Arago in his letters on Freycinet's voyage very properly says), "took his leave, and went home to his seven wives and to sacrifice to his idols." The corvette proceeded to Honolulu, where the same ceremony was performed on Boki, the governor of Oahu, and brother of Kalanimoku.

To both of these chiefs the baptism was, of course, an unmeaning ceremony, making not the least change in their heathen notions or habits. Idolatry was not abolished at the islands till some time afterwards. These instances of baptism, therefore, not being understood by the recipients, cannot be regarded as the introduction of Romanism at the islands. No thought of a mission to these islands by Papal missionaries is known to have existed till several years afterwards, and the project was suggested, as seems to be allowed, by Mr. John Rives.

Here I shall avail myself of the statements of an early resident at the islands—a merchant of integrity and worth. His statements first appeared in the *Boston Mercantile Journal* of February 14, 1840. In regard to early facts—those which took place during his residence, I know not that I could appeal to better authority.

To proceed then, Mr. John Rives was a Frenchman who had been at the islands for many years, and the manner of his arrival is reported to have been as follows: About ten years before the establishment of the Protestant mission at the islands an American vessel, on her way from Boston towards the North-west coast on a trading voyage, had occasion to touch at one of the ports in South America, where the captain was prevailed upon by a poor and wandering French boy to take him on board his vessel. He took him, and after completing his voyage on the coast, landed this boy at the Sandwich Islands, where he was taken into the train of Prince Liholiho to perform any kind of service or handy work in which he might be skilled. This was John Rives.

Prince Liholiho became king of the islands on the death of his father, in 1819, and reigned till his embarkation for Great Britain in 1823. All this time John Rives continued in his train. And when the king went on board with his chosen retinue to sail for Great Britain, John Rives contrived, it is not known precisely in what way, to get on board and to sail with the company.

After the arrival of the ship in London, Mr. John Rives went over to France, where, it would seem, he attracted some attention on account of his supposed influence with the king of the Sandwich Islands. It is said, (following still the account of the resident above alluded to) that he represented himself as the owner of extensive plantations at the islands, that he engaged a large amount of goods, on which he agreed to pay an extravagant profit on delivery at the islands—also pictures and other church ornaments, and that he advertised in newspapers for carpenters, masons, coopers and other laborers to go out to work on his plantations; and last and most important in this narration, that he advertised for a number of priests to go out under his patronage.

In the fall of 1826, John Alexius Augustine Bachelot, constituted Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands, in company with Mr. Short, a subject of Great Britain, and a third clerical man who never became a resident here, and together, also, with several laymen, sailed from Bordeaux in the French ship *Comet*, Captain Plassad, and arrived at Honolulu on the 7th of July, 1827.

Rives (it is said by the authority referred to), took passage from France to the western coast of America in another ship, where he was afterward heard from as having expended the last remains of his money and credit and as wandering about Mexico, poor and dissipated. He has never been seen since at the Islands.

The ship *Comet* anchored outside the reef at Honolulu with Rives's goods and ornaments, and with the passengers, both clerical and secular, but no Mr. Rives, and no friend was to be found to receive and pay for the goods and ornaments. The passengers were unceremoniously landed immediately

after their arrival without waiting for permission. They were ordered to leave and the captain of the ship was sent for to appear before the governor, and was informed that as he had landed men without permission, he must take them away again. The resident merchant (on whose statements I rely), saw the captain of the French ship directly after he came from the fort, who told him the order which he had received. In speaking of the passengers, he said, with an oath: "I have had trouble enough with them, and they shall not go on board my ship again." The captain, after spending a short time at Honolulu and making, it is said, some unsuccessful efforts to sell some of the goods which he had brought for Rives, took his departure, leaving his passengers on shore. The passengers, clerical and secular, continued to remain on the islands for several years without permission.

It is said that they went directly to Boki, the governor of Oahu, who received them cordially and ordered a house to be constructed for them. That such was the fact is very probable, for it would accord well with Boki's general character and course of conduct. Boki took great pains to court the favor of the mass of foreigners, for he well knew that his pleasures and pecuniary interests were thereby promoted, and also his hostile attempts against the government of Kaahumanu.

That Kaahumanu rightfully held the supreme authority of the islands has already been shown beyond all dispute. The fact is asserted in the written constitution of the government—an instrument of all others, naturally made with the greatest care and by the king and chiefs in council. Her rank by birth, her appointment by Kamehameha the conqueror, the confirmation of that appointment by Liholiho, and the general understanding of the chiefs and people are evidences of the fact. A party consisting of certain foreigners, Boki and his dependants, called the fact in question, though never openly to the chiefs. The reader can form his own opinion from whence an idea so insidious and bold naturally originated.

Such being the position of Boki, it was natural that the

Romanists should have been directed to him, and that he should have connived, at least, at their residence on the islands,—that he should have done, indeed, any thing in their favor which he could do without directly and openly opposing the commands of Kaahumanu.

The office of Boki as governor of Oahu at that time did not authorize him to give permission to any foreigner to reside permanently on the islands, much less to a company of persons coming in the character of missionaries. It has been seen that Protestant missionaries were not allowed to take up their residence on shore till after the king and chiefs had considered the subject in full assembly and with the careful deliberation of a whole week, and then the permission at first was only for one year. The Roman Catholic priests knew perfectly well that Boki had no authority to give them permission to reside permanently at the islands. He could secretly connive at their temporary residence and countenance their efforts, but he dared not give an open and formal permission. Such a permission they never received, not even from Boki, much less from Kaahumanu, according to the testimony of M. Bachelot himself in his letter of December 18th, 1835, published in the “Annals,” giving an account of his expulsion. He says:

“We had never obtained the formal ‘yes’ [permission] in relation to our remaining on these islands; and though several of the chiefs had a thousand times expressed great friendship for us, and even the young king himself had gone so far as to wish to learn the French language of us, the ‘yes’ for our remaining had never been uttered.”

The priests, it is said, celebrated their first mass July 15, 1827, and opened a small temporary thatched chapel about the 1st of January, 1828. They found a few natives who had already been inducted into their form of worship; for a native female, Louisa, had visited the American coast, and whilst there had been baptized and instructed somewhat in Roman Catholic prayers and forms, and returning and residing in the family of Mr. Manini, a Spaniard of the Roman Catholic faith, who had been many years at Honolulu, she communi-

cated what she knew to some native servants connected with the family and to a few others who were attracted by curiosity. This little company very naturally attached themselves at once to the Roman Catholic priests very soon after their arrival.

During the year 1828 and most of 1829, the Romanists were identified with the party of Boki. Taking shelter under his connivance and protection, they found but little difficulty in prosecuting their work. Boki's short career, as has been seen, was one of intemperance, prodigality and rebellion. He allowed grog-shops and houses of ill-fame. He involved the nation in a heavy debt to gratify himself and his favorites. He collected men, guns and ammunition in the valley back of Honolulu, threatening the life of Kaahumanu and a revolution in government. He did the same at Wai-kiki, filling the cocoanut grove with armed men. He showed the same disposition at Waoala. And at Hilo he went so far as to divide the lands of the kingdom among his favorites, or to say whose they should be after the meditated conquest. While such a man was governor of Oahu, the Romanists had a patron and protector. They were pleased with him and were attached to his cause, as appears from their own representations quoted above at page 214. In their letters there referred to they characterized Kaahumanu as an ambitious woman, contriving to keep the authority in her own hands, and they represent Boki as regent of the realm, heading a party, using management with the "old queen," and as being favorable enough to them and their party.

In December, 1829, Boki, as has already been narrated, embarked on a wild expedition in search of sandal wood and was lost at sea. Soon after his departure, Kaahumanu, arriving from Kauai and thinking it a favorable opportunity to promote a reformation of morals at Honolulu, addressed herself to that work. She succeeded in imposing a check upon intemperance and licentiousness. Among other evils, the growth of Romanism did not escape her notice, and she proceeded to give strict charge to the Roman Catholic priests not to keep open their chapel for the worship of natives. She

commanded also the natives who attended there to forsake that form of worship and went so far as to take from them their crucifixes and to threaten them with punishment. At length punishment was actually inflicted in several instances.

Louisa, the female above referred to, was sent for by Kaahumanu and detained by her as a household servant, that her mind might be turned away from Catholic notions, but she, remaining firm in her choice, was subjected to the punishment of being confined by night in irons. Soon after, Kaahumanu, visiting Maui, took with her Louisa and a sorcerer by the name of Luau, with the intention of banishing them to the island of Kahoolawe. On her arrival at Maui, and her intention becoming known to Mr. Richards, the Protestant missionary at the place, he represented to her the impropriety of such a course and prevailed upon her to send back Louisa to Oahu.

During the absence of Kaahumanu, Kinau, then acting as governess of Oahu, caused several persons, Hinapapa, Kaihumua and others, to be brought to trial for practicing the rites of Romanism. They were subjected to punishment by confinement and labor like criminals.

About the same time several females were brought before Kinau, tried for the offence of being Romanists and sentenced, it is said, to braid mats. They were, however, soon liberated through the interference of Liliha.

But the person most severely treated at that time was a convert to Romanism punished by Kaahumanu herself soon after her return from Maui. His name was Kihawahine. Being more bold than the rest, and using what was considered insulting language to Kaahumanu, he was confined by her in irons and treated as a criminal for several weeks. The Catholic priests endeavored to rescue this disciple from confinement and used threatening language to Kaahumanu. She on that account was only the more firm and decided in the course she was pursuing.

Here, then, commences persecution, so-called, or punishment for religious choice—an act which every enlightened mind has been taught to regard with the utmost abhorrence.

But I must ask my readers to suspend their judgment. Justice to Kaahumanu requires that the notions which led to such a course and the circumstances which attended it should be distinctly noticed. In order to judge soberly and correctly in the case it is necessary to imagine ourselves in the condition of Kaahumanu, with her training and views, and to look at Romanism as it was presented to her mind, associated with intemperance, licentiousness and rebellion.

In the first place, it is to be considered that Kaahumanu had never before, perhaps, in any instance met with determined and resolute opposition from any of the common people. It was altogether a new thing to her to find some of the lowest of her subjects rejecting her wishes and treating her commands with obstinate resistance. She did not comprehend at that period of mere dawning light and limited information that her authority as a ruler extended merely to civil matters. That was a new idea. The state of things at the islands from time immemorial had been very different. The high chiefs had always been in the habit of dictating to the people, not only in temporal affairs, but also in every ceremony and practice of their idolatrous worship. They were the acknowledged fountain both of temporal authority and religious belief, and resistance to any ceremony enjoined by them was regarded as equally criminal with disobedience to any other command. Accordingly, in the days of Liholiho, when the resolution was taken to reject the tabus and to dishonor the idols it was not left optional for any party to believe differently or to take a different course. Kekuaokalani and his followers, presuming to adhere to idols, were met at once in battle, defeated and slain. Toleration in matters of worship had never been known. The very reverse had ever been both the sentiment and the practice. The introduction of Christianity did not change at once the notions of the chiefs and people on so difficult a subject. The correct sentiment of toleration is now gaining ground, but it will be some time yet, though the Christian religion has been acknowledged twenty-three years, before the doctrine will be fully appreciated and uniformly acted upon. It

has to struggle at every step with the notions and habits of ages. It cannot be supposed that Kaahumanu fourteen years ago had any thing like clear and just notions of religious toleration.

Besides, what made the case a more difficult one, the notions of the people were the same with those of the chiefs—with those of Kaahumanu. They, governed by all former sentiments and practice, naturally believed that she had a right to command her subjects to forsake the Papal worship and that it was her duty to do so. And when resistance was offered to her commands it was universally regarded as insult to her as the ruler of the nation—as rebellion against her government, and a necessity seemed to arise that she should uphold her authority by compelling obedience. There was, indeed, real danger, the sentiments of the people being such as they were, that a neglect to enforce obedience, even though it were in a matter of religious worship, would be a letting down of her authority as supreme ruler of the land and throwing open the door for party combinations, insurrection and rebellion.

In the addresses of the chiefs to the people, in those days, when reference was made to the subject of Popery, the point more prominent than all others was that they apprehended, should that form of worship become common like the worship of Protestants, that the nation would be involved in endless perplexities, be sundered into factions and utterly ruined. Such were their fears; and the views of the people being such as they were, such fears were not without foundation.

If the people, or even the more intelligent classes of the people, had possessed at that time any just notions of religious toleration, the exercise of it by Kaahumanu would have been much more natural and feasible.

Still further, it should be considered that those persons themselves who went over to the practice of Papal ceremonies were not slow to manifest that they regarded their own conduct in the light of rebellion. Not only did the chiefs look at the matter in that light and the people generally, but the

particular individuals concerned had no other view of it. When called to account for their behavior they did not mildly expostulate and plead the right of conscience and of private judgment. They had no conception of such a course or defense. That was a track of thought upon which their minds had never entered. But they took at once the attitude of opposition in the abstract—as though feeling and supposing that their Papal teachers must necessarily be at variance with the rulers of the land. They manifested by their whole behavior, when called to account, that they considered themselves as rebels and were not careful, therefore to abstain in the presence of the highest chiefs from abusive words and insulting behavior. The details of almost any case that occurred are a full illustration of this remark.

This attitude which they assumed, among a people of such notions, made the subject an intricate and involved one. It rendered it difficult for Protestant missionaries to give that advice which otherwise it would have been easy to have offered. They could oppose as a most un-Christian notion the idea of punishing for religious choice, but when an instance occurred it was generally connected with such disobedience to civil orders, rebellious language and insulting deportment as were justly obnoxious to punishment. And to chastise for the deportment, and to tolerate the faith was a nicer distinction than the ignorant multitude were ready to make.

Moreover, in the state of things, there was no alternative between opposition on the part of the rulers to Popery and a strongly implied approbation. It was impossible for the chiefs to maintain a neutral position. The idea of neutrality or middle ground in such a case was foreign to all the notions of the people. To leave an important matter to the people to judge and act for themselves in regard to it, implying neither approbation nor displeasure, was in the midst of such views and sentiments as prevailed an utter impossibility. The chiefs did not wish to approve of Popery and recommend it to the people; their only alternative then was to oppose it.

But the difficulty of the case did not end here, for it is

to be remarked again that from the days of Kekuaokalani down one of the sternest laws of the kingdom had ever been against idolatry and the tabus. Idols were not overthrown and the tabus erased without a hazardous and bloody battle. The necessity of such a battle gave strength to the law which followed the victory—that idols should be burned, that tabus should be disregarded, and that whosoever should attempt to revive the one or the other should be regarded as aiding the vanquished cause of Kekuaokalani and liable to punishment. The law, of course, had its origin before the arrival of the Protestant missionaries and was founded upon the very strongest of their national feelings—their wrath against idols and tabus, under which they had suffered the severest thralldom and to destroy which they had periled their lives.

Their word for idolatry is “hoomanakii,” compounded of “hoomana,” signifying to attribute superhuman power or efficacy, to reverence, to worship; and “kii,” image, device, picture or representation. When the Papal priests opened their room for worship and exhibited their forms and ceremonies, bowing before images, pictures and crucifixes, they exclaimed at once, “it is hoomanakii.” And when the priests enjoined abstinence from meat on certain days the natives remarked: “This is another form of tabu.” Curiosity was excited. The king went to observe for himself. Kaahu-manu, also, and other high chiefs went to see for themselves and to form an opinion, and the united impression of all was, that the Papal form of worship was very much like their old heathen system. They all pronounced it to be “hoomanakii” (worship of pictures, symbols, etc., as their term signifies), and, of course, to be obnoxious to one of the strictest laws of the land. Soon some persons were found going over to the “hoomanakii,” and when called to account for doing so they appeared to assume an attitude of opposition and defiance like that before manifested by Kekuaokalani and his party. Is it strange, therefore, that they were regarded as criminals and treated as such?

It may be added that converts to Romanism occasioned

much embarrassment in the affairs of government. The Papal priests, it has been seen, upheld the high claims of Boki, and after his death adhered to Liliha, his wife, who also meditated a revolution and went so far as to fill the fort with armed men. Their disciples would naturally, and for more reasons than one, be found in the ranks of the opposing party. It was the side of intemperance, licentiousness and opposition, all which things are congenial to corrupt human nature.

Embarrassment arose also in another way. The Protestant religion, having been first introduced at the islands and embraced by the chiefs and people, a certain connection, as before described, had naturally and perhaps unavoidably grown up between it and the government. In consequence of this connection it became customary for the chiefs to make certain requisitions of the people generally in favor of Protestant institutions. For instance, the people of a particular district or island are ordered by the chiefs to erect a meeting house; the Papal party, of course, refuse, for to assist in such a work would be aiding the Protestants; they are commanded to assist in erecting a school house; they object, for the school is likely to be taught by a Protestant teacher; they are required to send their children to school, they refuse for the same reason and prefer that their children should grow up not knowing how to read or write. There have, also, occurred many instances in which persons when called upon to assist in supporting schools have declared themselves Papists for the mere purpose of being exempted from a light taxation. These developments were not so considerable as to occasion much trouble in the days of Kaahumanu, but for the last few years have been very perplexing both to the rulers and the mass of the people.

Again, Papal priests, not having permission to reside on the islands, were not authorized to perform marriages, and yet marriages performed by Protestant ministers were pronounced by them to be invalid. Their disciples, of course, were thrown into circumstances naturally leading to much

unpleasant controversy—a controversy too breaking out in opposition to the laws of the land.

The use of ardent spirits was forbidden by the laws of the land, but there have not been wanting those among the Papal priests who countenanced the use of it, both by example and precept. Indeed, a criminal under punishment for dealing in ardent spirits and for adultery could be at the same time a good Roman Catholic—a position which the chiefs, simple minded and unacquainted with the inconsistencies of the world, were not able to interpret.

Once more, the chiefs had been told by foreign visitors and residents and by some, doubtless of the Protestant missionaries, that in whatever countries the Roman Catholics became numerous they were not slow to aim at the exercise of civil authority and to become indeed rulers of the land:—that if they should gain a permanent footing at the Sandwich Islands, the power of the king and chiefs would be insecure and the government exposed to revolution. The attachment of the Romanists to the cause of Boki had already given ground for such a suggestion.

Taking all these considerations into account, is it strange that Hawaiian chiefs resorted to punishment to stay the progress of Romanism? Punishment was certainly a very unwise policy, and so far as it was inflicted for religious choice (and in some instance it seems to have been inflicted for that reason in part at least), it was a violation of some of the most invaluable principles of humanity and civilization. It is deeply to be regretted that such a course of treatment was in any instance adopted. Yet who can assert, taking all the circumstances into account, that such a course necessarily implied in the government any other than the most upright and benevolent motives. Persecution for religious choice, when viewed in the abstract, conveys an impression the most unwelcome and abhorrent. The punishment inflicted on Romanists at the Sandwich Islands when viewed under all the attending circumstances loses almost altogether the character of persecution and becomes more a subject for regret than for abhorrence and censure.

With these explanatory remarks we return to the narrative. The Roman Catholic priests were repeatedly admonished by the government that they had no permission to remain at the islands and that they must seek an opportunity to leave. At length, at a council of the chiefs in April, 1831, a formal order for their departure was delivered to them in writing. M. Bachelot states the fact, and that the order was handed to him by Kaikioewa. How far they endeavored to comply with the order may be seen from M. Bachelot's own account, as published in the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," volume 10, page 370.

"That we might appear to yield in some degree to the demands of the chiefs and to avoid irritating them we took care, when any vessel was about to depart, to request in writing of the captain a gratuitous passage. We did this in respect to several, and as they knew our intentions, they answered us also in writing and absolutely refused to grant our request, for no captain was willing to engage in executing the sentence pronounced against us.

"A short time afterwards a Prussian vessel arrived, the captain of which brought presents from the king of Prussia to the young king of the Sandwich Islands. The arrival of this vessel furnished an occasion for a new attempt to compel us to leave the archipelago. The governor of Hawaii reappeared. 'Here,' said he to me 'is a ship from near your own country. It will conduct you to your own land.' 'What you say is reasonable,' I replied, 'but who will pay my passage? I came here with nothing but my body and the word of God; my heart has not been upon the things of this world; I have amassed no money.' 'Perhaps he will take you for nothing.' 'It is possible; but ask him yourself and we shall see. Kuakini retired with this answer. The captain came to see us; I explained to him our situation; he obligingly offered to receive us on board of his vessel if we wished to depart, but if not, he told us to make an application to him in writing and to dictate the answer which we wished him to make; which was done. The governor of Hawaii also went to see him, and urged him to take charge of us. The Prus-

sian captain answered him that he would do it with pleasure, but that before M. Patrick and I could come on board, he must be paid five thousand dollars, (more than twenty-five thousand francs.) The poor governor had a great desire to rid himself of us, but he was still more anxious to keep his money. He was therefore obliged to abandon his project."

The government soon found that there was no probability that the priests would avail themselves of any opportunity to leave the islands. What was to be done? To force them to embrace an opportunity might be interpreted into severity and persecution. The mildest measure that could be chosen, consistent with the order that had been given, was the one which recommended itself as the wisest and best. The government fitted out a vessel of its own, the brig *Waverly*, at its own expense—an expense very considerable for Hawaiian chiefs—put it under the command of a competent captain, caused the priests to embark without force, and kindly carried them to the coast of California. The published order for their leaving the islands is as follows:

"This is our reason for sending away the Frenchmen. In the first place, the chiefs never assented to their dwelling at Oahu, and when they turned away some of our people to stand opposed to us, then we said to them, return to the country whence ye came.

"At several different times we gave them that order, and again in speaking to them we said: 'Go away, ye Frenchmen, we allow ye three months to get ready.' But they did not go during the three months, but remained eight months, saying: 'We have no vessel to return in.' Therefore we put them on board our own vessel to carry them to a place where the service is like their own.

"Because their doings are different from ours, and because we cannot agree, therefore we send away these men."

"(Signed.)

KAAHUMANU.

"Oahu, December 7, 1831."

To this order Captain Sumner's commission may be properly added:

"I, Kauikeaouli, king of the Sandwich Islands, and Kaa-

humanu, and Kuakini, Governor of Oahu, do hereby commission William Sumner, commander of the brig Waverly, now lying in Oahu, to receive two French gentlemen and their goods or whatever they may have to bring on board, and to proceed to California and land them safely on shore with everything belonging to them, where they may subsist, and then to return back to the Sandwich Islands.

“(Signed:)

KAUIKEAOULI, (L. S.)

KAAHUMANU,

GOV. KUAKINI.

“Oahu, Nov. 5, 1831.

When all was ready, Kaahumanu, the Queen Regent, went to them herself, and took them by the hand and told them as they had disregarded their laws, etc., for a long time, that they must now leave; that a vessel was ready with orders to land them safely on the Spanish coast, where the people were all of their own religious denomination, and that there they would be among their friends; that she had come herself to see the order executed, that there might be no occasion to say they had been treated unkindly.

The brig sailed December, 1831, and arrived on the coast of California in about one month, January, 1832. Captain Sumner's commission, it may be seen, required him to land them safely, and where they might subsist. If the commission was not fulfilled, it certainly was not the fault of the government. But from M. Bachelot's own account it would seem that he found but little reason to complain. In his letter in the “Annals,” volume 10, page 362, he says:

“The American consul had informed the governor general of California of the efforts which were made to expel us from the Sandwich archipelago, and had asked him if he would receive us if we should be sent to his territory. The governor had answered that we should not only be well received, but very useful. The prefect of the missions and another Franciscan father had also written to us and besought us not to seek for any other asylum. They informed us of their advanced age, their infirmities, their small number, and their consequent need of us.”

Further extracts might be made in which he informs us that before they were landed the captain sent information of their arrival to a farmer in the neighborhood who knew who they were, and who had transmitted supplies to them while they were at Honolulu; that the farmer first visited them on board, and then sent a young man to take care of their baggage; that the young man supplied them with provisions and slept with them by the side of an uninhabited hut at night. They were soon welcomed at the houses of their fellow missionaries.

After the departure of the Catholic priests, Kaahumanu saw best to prohibit, even in stricter terms than before, the practice of Roman Catholic ceremonies by natives of the islands. It was declared that if any chief should practice those rites, such a chief would be regarded as rebelling against the government; that if any landholder should favor that form of worship, his lands should be taken from him; and that if any common subject should persevere in the practice of those ceremonies, he should be punished.

Such orders, of course, had no effect to diminish the number of Romanists, but only to make their worship a little more secret. Soon a company were discovered practicing their ceremonies at Laepohaku. They were brought to trial and sentenced to hard labor—to work on the stone wall at Waikiki. Some of the company were males and some were females. They were compelled to labor together at the same work of building stone wall. In the state of society here there was nothing severe or degrading in the kind of work; men, women, and children being, at that time, frequently called out, without crime, to do such kind of labor. All of the names of the persons punished I have not been able to obtain. Some of them were Uheke, Mahaoi, Kauka-aho, Mokunui, Kikima and Nanakea. One of their number died whilst they were employed at that work—the wife of Nanakea—but not, it is believed, in consequence of the work which she was required to do. The United States frigate *Potomac* arrived at Honolulu whilst these persons were at work on the wall, and Commodore Downs very humanely

and properly interfered in their behalf, representing to the government the injustice, impolicy and cruelty of punishing any persons for their religious choice. Several circumstances combined with the advice of Commodore Downs, leading to the liberation of the Romanists.

Kaahumanu I had died a few weeks before. Confusion began to be felt in the government. Kinau, or Kaahumanu II, had at that time scarcely authority enough to enforce laws against crime, and still less, if there had been a disposition, to enforce any measure against the Romanists. For a number of years therefore no such punishment was inflicted.

A Catholic priest, whose name is Robert Walch, arrived at Honolulu on the 30th of September, 1836, in the brig *Garafilia* from Valparaiso. He was forbidden by Kaahumanu II, the Premier and governess, to become a resident at the islands, on the ground that teachers of the same faith had already been sent away. The English Consul interposed, claiming a residence for Mr. Walch on the plea of his being a British subject. Kinau continued to refuse, and informed Mr. Walch that he must leave the islands in the vessel in which he came. Mr. Walch proceeded from the presence of the governess to the Roman Catholic mission house, determined to claim a residence as a British subject irrespective of his clerical character. The commander of the *Garafilia* received orders from the governess not to land the baggage of Mr. Walch, which orders were disregarded. Mr. Walch received frequent notice from the governess to leave the islands, but, on account of the inefficiency of the government on the one hand and the protection of the British consul on the other, he continued to reside. He was prevented from preaching to the natives and from holding any meetings of public worship.

In March, 1837, Messrs. Bachelot and Short, who had been sent to California at an expense very considerable to the Sandwich Islands' government, embarked the second time for these shores, and arrived in the brig *Clementine* on the 17th of April, 1837. They landed without delay. Mr. Short says, in his published account, that he endeavored to

land without being recognized, and that for that purpose he had suffered his beard to grow long and wore a broad brimmed hat, and that as soon as he reached the wharf he took a roundabout path to his former residence. Both Mr. Short and M. Bachelot, however, were immediately recognized by the natives, and report being carried to the proper authorities of their arrival, they were ordered to return without delay to the vessel in which they came.

It was said that they did not come to reside, but only to remain till they could procure passage to some other port. But they themselves state very distinctly in the "Annals" that their object was to remain here if possible. The chiefs suspected this to be the real object, and, as might be supposed, felt strongly on the subject. They remembered the vast amount of trouble, the four years of procrastination and the considerable expense which had attended their removal. They were exceedingly averse that this trouble and expense should be renewed.

The priests had come back to fix themselves upon the islands if possible against the known wishes of the authorities, for M. Bachelot says in prospect of returning, "according to all probability we shall be treated as enemies." The trouble at which the government had been to carry them to California gave them good reason for such an opinion. They knew that they were returning in violation of the laws of the islands; and the controllers of the vessel, being residents of Honolulu, were fully aware that such was the fact.

The government, therefore, ordered the priests to return on board, and ordered the captain and Mr. Dudoit, the owner, to receive them on board before any part of the cargo except the deck load, consisting of horses, was discharged. Day after day the priests and the owner of the vessel were called before the chiefs, the case was argued and the orders were insisted upon. Those orders were disregarded, and the vessel was being fitted for sea and was nearly ready to sail when positive orders were received from the king, then at Maui, to have the men put on board.

In pursuance of these positive orders, an officer of the police

with three of four subalterns proceeded to the residence of the missionaries concerned and told them that the orders of the king were for them to go at once on board.

After waiting upon them with great kindness for several hours without the least violence being used or offered to the last, they attended the officer to the wharf. Before, however, stepping into the boat to which they were civilly pointed, one of them said to the officer: "Touch us, touch us"—which was repeated several times both by the missionary and the surrounding natives or other bystanders, when, to avoid importunity, perhaps, he brushed his hand over the arm of each and afforded instant satisfaction to the missionaries, who, without further hesitation, stepped into the boat and were taken along side the vessel.

They remained on board several weeks, the owner having in the meantime abandoned it on pretence of its having been forcibly taken possession of by the government. A very minute account of this transaction is given in the letter of Kauikeaouli, or Kamehameha III, king of these islands, to William IV, then king of Great Britain, a copy of which letter is preserved.

July 8th, a British ship of war arrived, and on the 10th a French ship of war came, also, into port. The English captain demanded at once that the priests should be permitted to land, which demand being refused, he went through the form, no resistance being offered, of what was called "recapturing" the brig and of placing the Catholic priests on shore. Soon however an arrangement was negotiated to which the English and French captains and the government of the islands were parties, by which the priests were to be allowed to remain on shore till an opportunity should offer of going to some other civilized part of the world. In the meantime they were not to be allowed to proselyte. The following is the stipulation of the French captain:

Honolulu, July 21, 1837.

The undersigned captain of the ship, commander of the French Frigate *Venus*, promises in the name of M. Bachelot, that he will seize the first favorable opportunity which offers

to quit these islands to go either to Manila, Lima, Valparaiso or any civilized part of the world, and in case such an one is not presented, on the arrival of the first French man-of-war which visits these islands, he shall be received on board. In the meantime Bachelot shall not preach.

A. DU PETIT THOUARS,

Post Captain Commanding French Frigate *Venus*.

The English captain entered into a stipulation for Mr. Short of substantially the same import. A few days after, the following treaty, or rather substitute for a treaty, Captain Thouars saying he was not invested with authority to make a treaty, was made between France and the Islands:

Honolulu, Sandwich Isles, July 24, 1837.

Treaty between the king of the French, Louis Philippe I, represented by the Captain A. Du Petit Thouars, and the king of the Sandwich Islands, Kamehameha III.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between the French and the inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles.

The French shall go and come freely in the states which compose the government of the Sandwich Isles.

They shall be received and protected there, and shall enjoy the same advantages which the subjects of the most favored nation enjoy.

Subjects of the king of the Sandwich Isles shall equally come into France, shall be received and protected there as the most favored foreigners.

(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III,

A. DU PETIT THOUARS,

Captain Commander of the French Frigate *Venus*.

In October following, Mr. Short embraced an opportunity to leave the islands for Valparaiso. He sailed in the brig *Peru*.

Three days after, November 2nd, the ship *Europa* appeared off the anchorage, having on board three Spanish refugees, and also Louis Maigret, a French Catholic priest, and J. C. Murphy, a layman, said to be connected with the Catholic mission. The refugees were allowed to land as soon

as they made known their condition and their object in coming to the islands.

Kinau, or Kaahumanu II, Premier, sent a letter to Messrs. Maigret and Murphy, inquiring of them their office or avocation and their intention in coming to the islands, as they had given no information on these points like the refugees above named. An answer was received from M. Maigret in which he says nothing of his office, but states it to be his object to remain at the islands only for a time, till opportunity might present of going to the Marquesas or Dangerous Archipelago. The answer was brought by Mr. Dudoit, acting as French consul. Kinau earnestly inquired of Mr. Dudoit if M. Maigret was a priest and he frankly declared that he was. She said he had concealed that fact. Mr. Dudoit said M. Maigret told him he was afraid he should not be permitted to land if it were known that he was a priest. Mr. Dudoit added: "I told him he ought not to have done so."

A long conversation ensued, in which the Premier firmly refused to allow M. Maigret to land unless he would give security to depart within some stipulated time and in the meantime to abstain from attempting to propagate his faith. A detailed account of the correspondence and proceeding may be seen in the *Polynesian*, volume 2, number 22.

M. Maigret did not accede to the terms proposed. He procured the schooner *Honolulu* and embarked upon it to depart for other islands. M. Bachelot sailed with him. He was in ill health at the time of sailing. He had been in feeble health for some time with a chronic affection, but I am informed on good authority that, being somewhat improved, his attending physician gave on this occasion a certificate of his being in a proper condition for a sea voyage. Contrary to the expectation of his friends, he died at sea. Mr. Murphy, being declared by the British consul not to be a priest, was allowed to land.

After the departure of Messrs. Maigret and Bachelot, the government issued an ordinance, dated December 18, 1837, prohibiting the teaching of the "peculiarities of the Pope's religion" and the exhibition of its ceremonies, and announce-

ing that no teacher of that religion would be allowed to reside in the islands.

During these years of trouble and perplexity, while on the one hand the Papal missionaries were endeavoring to gain a residence at the islands, and on the other the king and chiefs were struggling to frustrate the attempt, it is deeply to be regretted that more instances occurred of persons being punished for adhering to Papal rites and ceremonies. Resident foreigners of whatever faith were in no instance molested, but some natives of the islands were truly oppressed and treated with severity.

In 1836, several persons were arrested and sentenced to perform hard labor, like criminals guilty of theft or adultery. A man whose name was Paele was treated with more severity than others, and because, as is said, he used very insolent and abusive language to the judges at the time of investigation. He was compelled to perform the office of scavenger—was required to do work of the most degrading and loathsome kind, and was sometimes confined by a chain. One or two others, in the course of that and the following year, were sentenced to perform the same kind of work. In 1838, there were additional instances of punishment—the men were required to cut and draw stone or to build walls and the females to act as scavengers. June 15th, 1838, a large company were brought to trial from the distant district of Wai-anae. Through the representations and influence of Mr. Richards they were all dismissed without punishment, except a few individuals who had exhibited disobedience in civil matters to the officers and rulers. These latter persons only were punished.

Mr. Richards, formerly a Protestant missionary, being at this time dismissed from the mission, had become teacher to the king and chiefs. He took an early opportunity and special pains to communicate instruction on the subject of religious toleration. The result was soon apparent. On the 17th of June of the same year (1839), the king issued orders to his chiefs that no further punishment should be inflicted; that the chiefs should confine themselves to the use

of moral suasion in their efforts to reclaim the Roman Catholic proselytes, and that if any were confined or laboring they should be set at liberty.

This order of the king may not have been promulgated so as to have been generally understood at Honolulu till several days afterward, for it seems that after its date two females were punished at that place, one being tied to a tree and another to a post of a shed in uncomfortable positions. A resident foreigner, Mr. Hooper, saw the females in their suffering condition and made known the case to Mr. Bingham, one of the Protestant missionaries of the place. Mr. Bingham, knowing the prohibitory order of the king, could scarcely credit the report, but went immediately to the governor and informed him of the illegal acts of which he had heard, and the governor as soon as informed, caused the females to be released, for, as the king says in a letter hereafter to be noticed, "they were not confined by order of the chiefs," but by officers who had not at the time become fully informed.

It may be well here to notice, since much has been said on the subject, what kind of influence, if any, the Protestant missionaries used in respect to the expulsion of the Roman Catholic priests from the islands and how they viewed the punishment of native converts for adhering to that form of worship.

Soon after the proceedings of Captain Laplace took place, which are soon to be narrated, the United States consul addressed a letter to the king of these islands making certain inquiries on the point before us—the influence of the Protestant missionaries on the affairs of government. His letter and the answer of the king are as follows:

[The United States Consul to the King.]

United States Consulate, Sandwich Islands, Oct. 26, 1839.

Sir:—As the opinion seems to be to some extent entertained that American citizens residing in the Sandwich Islands as missionaries under the patronage of an incorporated institution of the United States have exerted a controlling

influence upon the framers of the laws of this country, I have very respectfully to inquire if they have ever had any voice in the passage of laws affecting the interests of other foreigners; and particularly whether they have ever had any thing to do in the measures adopted by your government for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country; and whether, in the treatment which has been shown to any subject of the government of France, they have directly or indirectly recommended the course pursued by your government; and also, whether, in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the part of your subjects, they have countenanced those attempts. If they have in any of these respects controlled the action of your government, will you be pleased to inform me, very explicitly, in what manner and to what extent. An early reply will be a favor. With the highest considerations, I have the honor to be, your Majesty's most obedient servant,

P. A. BRINSMADE,
United States Consul.

[The King to the United States Consul.]

Kauwila House, present residence of the king of Hawaii,
Oct. 28, 1839.

My respects to you, the American Consul:—

I have received your letter asking questions respecting the American missionaries, supposed by some to regulate the acts of my government under me. I, together with the chiefs under me, now clearly declare to you that we do not see any thing in which your questions are applicable to the American missionaries. From the time the missionaries first arrived they have asked liberty to dwell in these islands. Communicating instruction in letters and delivering the word of God has been their business.

They were hesitatingly permitted to remain by the chiefs of that time, because they were said to be about to take away the country. We exercised forbearance, however, and protected all the missionaries; and as they frequently arrived in

this country we permitted them to remain in this kingdom because they asked it; and when we saw the excellence of their labors, then some of the chiefs and people turned to them in order to be instructed in letters, for those things were in our opinion really true.

When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell on the islands, and also their business. There was not a clear understanding with this company of priests, as there was with that; because they landed in the country secretly, without Kaahumanu's hearing any thing about their remaining here.

When the number of the followers of the Romish religion became considerable, certain captains of whale ships told Kaahumanu of the evil of this way; and thus Captain D—— informed me of a great destruction in Britain in ancient time, and that his ancestors died in that slaughter, and he thought a like work would soon be done here. That was the company who informed us of the evil of the Romish religion, and also a certain French man-of-war and a certain British man-of-war approved of what we did.

Inasmuch as I do not know of the American missionaries having had any thing to do in my business with my chiefs, I have therefore inquired of them, the chiefs, and they say no in the same manner as I now say no, to you.

Some of them, however, have told me of having known certain things done by certain missionaries, viz: what Mr. Bingham said to Kaahumanu: "I have seen some people made to serve at hard labor on account of their having worshipped according to the Romish religion." "Whose thought is that?" Kaahumanu said to him, "Mine." Then he that spake to her objected quickly, saying: "It is not proper for you to do thus, for you have no law that will apply." When he said that, then Kaahumanu immediately replied to him with great strength. "The law respecting idolatry; for their worship is like that which we have forsaken." Mr. Clark, also, and Mr. Chamberlain spoke to Kinau, while Kaahumanu was yet alive, and objected to said

conduct; and afterwards Dr. Judd. And at a certain time Mr. Bingham and Mr. Bishop disputed strongly with Kinau on account of the wrong of punishing those of the Romish religion.

And now, in Kekauluohi's time, Mr. Richards disputed strongly with Kekuanaoa, urging the entire abolition of that thing, and that kindness should be bestowed on them, that they might be pleased, giving them also an instructor to teach them the right way, and thus also he said to Kekauluohi and to me.

And afterwards, when Mr. Bingham heard by Mr. Hooper that certain women were confined in irons at the fort, he went immediately and made known to Kekuanaoa the wickedness of their confinement for that thing; and when Kekuanaoa heard it, he immediately sent a man, and afterwards went, himself, to the fort to set the prisoners free; for their confinement was not by order of the chiefs.

Should it be said by accusers that American missionaries are the authors of one law of the kingdom, the law respecting the sale of rum, or if not, that they have urged it strongly, I would say, a number of captains of whale ships commenced that thing; thousands of my own people supported them; and when my chiefs saw that it was a good thing, they requested me to do according to the petition of that company; and when I saw that it was really an excellent thing, then I chose that as a rule of my kingdom.

But that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us, or overrule our acts, we deny it; it is not so.

We think that perhaps these are their real crimes:—Their teaching us knowledge; their living with us, and sometimes translating between us and foreigners; their not taking the sword into their hand, and saying to us with power, stop, punish not the worshippers in the Romish religion.

But, to stand at variance with, and to confine that company, they have never spoken like that, since the time of Kaahumanu I down to the time that the Roman priest was confined on board the *Europa*.

I think, perhaps, these things are not clear to you. It

would perhaps be proper, therefore, that the American missionaries should be examined before you and Commodore Read, and us also.

Thus I have written you, with respect,

(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III.

This letter of the king is deliberate, official and explicit, and seems to stand in need of but few additional remarks. In what I shall add, there will be advantage in considering the two points separately, the expulsion of the Catholic priests and the punishment of native converts for adhering to that faith.

In regard to the first point, the expulsion of the Roman Catholic priests, what influence did the Protestant missionaries exert? Is it asserted that we represented their doctrines as erroneous and their ceremonies as little or no better than the ancient idolatry of the islands? Such instructions were indeed communicated. Is it asserted that we gave the chiefs and people something of the history of the church of Rome, including such portions as the Council of Trent and the operations of the inquisition? All that was done. Is it said that we told the chiefs that in all lands where Romanists became the majority, they were prone to wield the civil power and to become the rulers of the country? Such suggestions were made.

But the main question returns, which is, did the Protestant missionaries advise the king and chiefs to send away the Catholic priests from the islands?

It may be said unhesitatingly that such advice was never given by the Protestant missionaries as a body. It is the practice of the Protestant missionaries to have a general meeting once a year, when all important matters in which the whole body are concerned are debated and decided upon by a vote of the majority. At such a meeting the question of giving advice to the government to send away the Romanists was once brought forward for discussion.

It was maintained, on the one hand, that it was right and expedient for the rulers to send away that class of persons,

and that if the chiefs should ask the opinion of any one of our number in the case, that it would be proper for him to give it. It was argued that the government was patriarchial—that the rulers were in a measure enlightened, but that the mass of the people were exceedingly ignorant and credulous, and exposed to any evil or delusion that might come in upon them,—that in such circumstances, where the people were not in a condition to judge for themselves, it was the duty of the rulers to exclude false teachers—and that it was proper for us, if asked, to reply that, in our opinion, it was right and proper for them to do so. The case was illustrated thus: Mr. T. has a family of children whose principles are not fixed and whose judgments are not mature. These children are kept within an inclosure, away from pernicious influences and false instructors. False teachers intrude and Mr. T. excludes them. He judges for his children, and decides that it is not time for them to be exposed to the wiles and misrepresentations of errorists. It was maintained that this people, just emerging from darkness, were in the condition of such children and that the rulers sustained the responsibility of such a father, and that it was proper for us to instruct them that such was their relation to the people and such their responsibility.

On the other hand, it was contended that it was a dangerous principle to admit that rulers had a right in any case to judge for the people in matters of religion, and that though there might be great and serious evils immediately resulting to the people, in allowing the Catholic priests to reside, yet such a permission might possibly be the best course in the end—that, all things considered, it was best for the world, notwithstanding many incidental evils, that there should be a freedom for all classes of persons, including both true and false teachers, to run to and fro, and to inculcate their opinions—that the rulers, in excluding the Romanists to secure a present benefit to their people, might be violating a principle of freedom which was of immense value to the world—that, moreover, such a measure might possibly react, and in a series of years occasion more evil to

the nation than could be counterbalanced by any immediate advantage.

Such was the substance of the arguments on the one side and on the other, and after some deliberation, it appearing evident to all, notwithstanding a difference of views on some points, that it was not best for us as a mission to give advice to the chiefs in the case, the subject was dismissed.

Here the question returns, did the Protestant missionaries as individuals give advice to the rulers to send away the Roman Catholic priests from the islands? In reply it may be said that the great majority of the Protestant missionaries were never so situated as to have their opinion asked on the subject. Scattered here and there over the whole group of islands, they seldom saw the chief rulers of the nation, and when they did meet them once or twice a year, for an hour or two, were not on such terms of familiarity and confidence as to have their opinions sought on a subject of such import. Of the few members of the mission, then, who were ever called upon by the chiefs to give advice in regard to the Roman Catholic priests, did any of those persons advise the rulers to send them away? Within these limits, the answer is plain, some individuals did, when inquired of by the chiefs, give it as their opinion that the rulers had a right to send away the Roman Catholic priests, as persons dangerous to the government and to the best interests of the nation.

The second point remains to be noticed, the punishment of Roman Catholic converts;—how was such treatment regarded by the Protestant missionaries? In the first place it may be said that the great majority of the Protestant missionaries had no knowledge, except a vague report from time to time, that Roman Catholic converts were suffering punishment. All the instances of punishment were at Honolulu, on Oahu, and the stations on the other islands stand related to Honolulu, in respect to frequency of communication, no nearer, certainly, than New Orleans, St. Louis and Portland do to the city of New York; and events taking place among the native population are not so readily known to foreigners, the

communities being distinct and separate, as some of my readers may imagine. It was my own lot to know next to nothing of the punishments inflicted on Roman Catholic converts till recent events, such as the proceedings of Captain Laplace, called my mind to the subject, and even then I could not get at the facts without considerable trouble at investigation. I have inquired of many of my fellow laborers and they inform me that they were living in a like state of ignorance. Those Protestant missionaries who lived at central places, particularly Honolulu, knew more on the subject than others, but they assert that they were acquainted at the time with but few of the acts that took place. When facts of the kind did come to the notice of Protestant missionaries, plans were taken to instruct the chiefs in the duty of religious toleration. The king in his letter already given states fully that such was the case. But I think that perhaps it should be admitted that in the multiplicity of other cares and labors, we were somewhat remiss, and did not endeavor by "line upon line and precept upon precept" to inform the chiefs so fully on the subject of religious toleration as we ought to have done.

These remarks being made, we will now return to the narration. Twenty-two days after the order of the king was promulgated prohibiting any farther punishment of Roman Catholic converts, on the 9th of July, 1839, the French frigate *l'Artemise*, commanded by Captain Laplace, arrived at Honolulu. Captain Laplace proceeded at once to address, in the name of his government to the king of the Sandwich Islands, the following manifesto:

"His Majesty, the king of the French, having commanded me to come to Honolulu in order to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill treatment to which the French have been victims at the Sandwich Islands, I hasten, first, to employ this last means as the most comfortable to the political, noble and liberal system pursued by France against the powerless, hoping thereby that I shall make the principal chiefs of these islands understand how fatal the conduct which they pursue towards her, will be to their interests, and

perhaps cause disasters to them and to their country, should they be obstinate in their perseverance. Misled by perfidious counsellors; deceived by the excessive indulgence which the French government has extended towards them several years, they are undoubtedly ignorant how potent it is, and that in the world there is not a power which is capable of preventing it from punishing its enemies; otherwise they would have endeavored to merit its favor, or, not to incur its displeasure, as they have done in ill treating the French. They would have faithfully put into execution the treaties, in place of violating them as soon as the fear disappeared, as well as the ships of war which had caused it, whereby bad intentions had been constrained. In fine, they will comprehend that to persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from this archipelago, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign.

“It is, without doubt, the formal intention of France that the king of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power which he considers his ally; but she also demands that he conform to the usages of civilized nations. Now, amongst the latter there is not even one which does not permit in its territory the free toleration of all religions; and yet, at the Sandwich Islands, the French are not allowed publicly the exercise of theirs, while Protestants enjoy therein the most extensive privileges; for these all favors, for those the most cruel persecutions. Such a state of affairs, being contrary to the laws of nations, insulting to those of Catholics, can no longer continue, and I am sent to put an end to it. Consequently I demand in the name of my government:

“First. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the king of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

“Second. That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government at Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that this church be ministered by priests of their nation.

“Third. That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries be immediately set at liberty.

“Fourth. That the king of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the captain of *l’Artemise* the sum of twenty thousand dollars as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France, which sum the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

“Fifth. That the treaty signed by the king of the Sandwich Islands as well as the sum above mentioned be conveyed on board the Frigate *l’Artemise* by one of the principal chiefs of the country; and also, that the batteries of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns which will be returned by the Frigate.

“These are the equitable conditions at the price of which the king of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve friendship with France. I am induced to hope that, understanding better how necessary it is for the prosperity of his people and the preservation of his power, he will remain in peace with the whole world, and hasten to subscribe to them, and thus imitate the laudable example which the Queen of Tahiti has given in permitting the free toleration of the Catholic religion in her dominions; but if contrary to my expectation, it should be otherwise, and the king and principal chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, led on by bad counsellors, refuse to sign the treaty which I present, war will immediately commence, and all the devastations, all the calamities, which may be the unhappy but necessary results, will be imputed to themselves alone, and they must also pay the losses which the aggrieved foreigners, in these circumstances, shall have a right to reclaim.

“The 10th July (9th according to date here), 1839.
Captain of the French Frigate *l’Artemise*.

“(Signed:)

C. LAPLACE.”

At the same time the following official letter from Captain Laplace was sent to the British Consul:

“Monsieur le Consul:—

“Having been sent by my government to put an end to the ill treatment to which, under the false pretext of Catholicity, the French have been subjected for several years in this Archipelago, my intention is to commence hostilities the 13th July (which is the twelfth of your date), at 12 a. m. against the king of the Sandwich Islands, should he refuse to accede immediately to the just conditions of the treaty presented by me, the clauses of which I explain in the manifesto of which I have the honour of sending you a copy. Should this chief, contrary to my expectation, persist in his blindness, or to express myself more plainly, to follow the advice of interested counsellors to deceive himself, I will be constrained in this case to employ the strong means of force, which I have at my disposition. I consider it my duty to inform you, Monsieur le Consul, that I offer asylum and protection on board the Frigate *l'Artemise* to those of your compatriots who may apprehend danger, under these circumstances, on the part of the natives, either for their persons or property.

“Receive, Monsieur le Consul, the assurance of the very distinguished considerations of your devoted servant.

“Post Captain Commanding the ship *l'Artemise*.

“C. LAPLACE.”

A letter of the same import was sent to the American Consul, with this addition:

“I do not, however, include in this class the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this Archipelago, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country.”

These communications being sent ashore, the harbor was

declared in a state of blockade. A vessel was despatched to Maui for the king, and Haalilio, the secretary, was detained on board the Frigate as a hostage for the king's arrival. At the request of the Premier, Kekauluohi, the date of commencing hostilities was prolonged to Monday, the 15th, on account of the king's absence. The excitement and perturbation both among natives and foreigners was very great.

The king not having arrived by Saturday, the 13th, Kekuanaoa, acting governor of Oahu, delivered the sum demanded on board the *l'Artemise* and also the treaty (according to the manifesto), signed by the Premier, Kekauluohi, and himself, in behalf of their sovereign. In the meantime the French flag was saluted from the fort by twenty-one guns, which was immediately returned. The king arrived at nine o'clock the next morning and immediately landed. At eleven o'clock a military mass was celebrated on shore in a straw house belonging to the king, attended by Captain Laplace, escorted by a company of one hundred and fifty men with fixed bayonets and martial music.

On Tuesday, the 16th, at five o'clock p. m., the treaty which follows was brought to the king, and he was told that if it was not signed by breakfast time next morning, such a representation should be made to the French government that they would send a larger force and take possession of the island. The king requested time to advise with the chiefs—but the threat was repeated, and he fearing the consequence which he was led to expect would be the result, signed it. It is as follows:

“Article 1st. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the king of the French and the king of the Sandwich Islands.

“Art. 2nd. The French shall be protected in an effectual manner in their persons and property by the king of the Sandwich Islands, who shall also grant them an authorization sufficient so as to enable them judicially to prosecute his subjects against whom they will have just reclamations to make.

“Art. 3rd. This protection shall be extended to French

ships and to their crews and officers. In case of shipwreck, the chiefs and inhabitants of the various parts of the Archipelago shall assist them and protect them from pillage. The indemnities for salvage shall be regulated, in case of difficulty, by arbiters selected by both parties.

“Art. 4th. No Frenchman accused of any crime whatever shall be tried except by a jury composed of foreign residents, proposed by the French Consul and approved of by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

“Art. 5th. The desertion of sailors belonging to French ships shall be strictly prevented by the local authorities, who shall employ every disposable means to arrest deserters, and the expenses of the capture shall be paid by the captain or owners of the aforesaid ships according to the tariff adopted by the other nations.

“Art. 6th. French merchandise, or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and eaux devies (brandy) cannot be prohibited, and shall not pay an import duty higher than five per cent. ad valorem.

“Art. 7th. No tonnage or importation duties shall be exacted from French merchants, unless they are paid by the subjects of the nation most favored in its commerce with the Sandwich Islands.

“Art. 8th. The subjects of king Kamehameha III shall have a right in the French possessions to all the advantages which the French enjoy at the Sandwich Islands, and they shall moreover be considered as belonging to the most favored nation in their commercial relations with France.

“Made and signed by the contracting parties the 17th July, 1839.

“(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III,
C. LAPLACE,

Post Capt. Commanding the French Frigate l'Artemise.”

Early on the morning of the 20th, the frigate sailed, carrying the treaty and the sum of money exacted to secure its observance. A more detailed account of these proceedings may be found in the Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. II, Nos. 3 and

4. Here, instead of giving my own comments, I will insert a short extract from an article in the *North American Review*, No. 109, written, as the *Polynesian* says, by the Hon. Rufus Choate.

“France had no right to force missionaries on these Islands, to reclaim them from the bloodiest and most impure idolatry. But it must be remembered that the nation, whose religious independence she invaded, was already one on which the light of a true civilization had begun to dawn; which had broken its idols, and put away its sacrifices of human blood; which had become formally converted to Christianity, had begun to feel in the lives and hearts of thousands of its people, and all over its aggregate character, condition and prospects, the specific influences of that vast agent of improvement and enjoyment; and had already in operation an adequate instrumentality for advancing it ultimately to the position of a cultivated and religious state. There was no call on the benevolence of France, therefore, to interfere; and we think the moral judgment, as well as the international law of the world will recognize the sacred right of a people, in so interesting and so critical an era in the history of its efforts and its opinions, to be let alone.

“Captain Laplace intimates, in his manifesto, that the government of the Islands had broken its treaties with France. We suppose him to refer to the refusal of that government to permit M. Maigret to land without giving security to depart within a fixed period, and, in the meantime not to propagate his religion; and to mean that this refusal involves a breach of the treaty of July, 1837, which, as we have seen, provides that the French shall enjoy in the Sandwich Islands the same advantages as subjects of the most favored nation. But that provision was plainly introduced *alio intuitu*. It did not mean to deal with the case of persons of any nation coming to inculcate a particular religion, but to make a common commercial arrangement. Captain Thouars, who negotiated the treaty, stipulated at the very same time for the removal of M. Bachelot from the Islands, on the demand of the local government, and that he should not preach. Did

he suppose that the treaty, which he was then making, secured to that priest and to others the right to stay and to preach?

“Our readers will have been struck with the two other provisions of this treaty; that which stipulates for the admission of French wines and brandies under the nominal maximum duty of five per cent. *ad valorem*; and that which secures to all Frenchmen in the Sandwich Islands the right to be tried by a jury of foreigners selected by the French Consul. They are quite as offensive, we need not say, and quite as palpable violations of the independence of the Islands, as that for the admission of Catholic priests. By them all together, France has wrested from this government the power of selecting the national religion, of preserving the public morality, so far as the unrestrained use of intoxicating liquors endangers it, and of administering its criminal law. She compels it to expose to the gaze of its people the unedifying spectacle of a conflict of rival sects of a religion, which they have not long known under any form, nor perhaps very tenaciously embraced, nor very perfectly comprehended. She puts their recent and frail temperance at the mercy of French brandy traders, not, we suppose, very tremblingly solicitous about the habits of Sandwich Island husbands, wives and sons. She violates that universal principle of international jurisprudence that every state shall try offences committed within its jurisdiction, and enables the very accomplices of a French offender against the local criminal code to assist him in defying its penalties.

“Surely, such a treaty is the result of conquest, not of negotiations, and of conquest used with extreme severity, and unprovoked by any aggression.

“It is not to our minds the least unpleasant incident of this whole proceeding, that the captain of the *Artemise*, in his manifesto, and in his communication to the American Consul, should have assumed that the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, or some of them, were the “counselors” and responsible advisers of those measures of the government which he had come to punish, and should, on that

ground, have formally excepted them from the offer of protection on board his ship, which he tendered to all other foreign residents."

We add an extract from the *Polynesian* by Mr. J. J. Jarvis in regard to the practical effects of the treaty as they began to be exhibited some months after it was signed:

"It [the treaty] still continues to be a subject of discussion with all classes, particularly the propriety of insisting as a *sine qua non*, upon the insertion of Article Sixth—admitting ardent spirits in direct opposition to the enactments and interests of this government, and a portion of the mercantile part of the community. It is upon this point more than upon any other, that the controversy between its advocates and opponents has turned, and if we may judge of the tone of public feeling from the expressions of the press abroad, it has cast an odium upon it which nothing but its entire abrogation can efface.

"No more powerful argument need be brought against the clause of the treaty in question than the contrast between the year before and the year after it went into effect. The year previous, the streets were quiet; families were undisturbed by the shouts and riots of those who indulged in intoxicating drinks. Nothing occurred to offend the eye of the most fastidious. Drunkenness and its attendant miseries were unknown, or practiced only in secret. Behold the reverse! The treaty signed, and scores of grogeries start into existence at once. Every part of the town is filled with them. The government, fearful of doing any thing which could possibly be construed even into an infraction of the spirit of the treaty, are fearful of imposing the slightest regulation to arrest the disorder. And thus it has gone on. Almost every week sees some new sign to tempt the poor sailor to his ruin."

Such continues, in a great measure to be the effect of the treaty in regard to intemperance. The day of judgment will reveal a fearful amount of evil directly resulting from it, and chargeable to it alone.

It remains to speak of the progress of Romanism at the

Islands since the treaty extorted by Captain Laplace. Of course a large company of Catholic priests soon arrived and stationed themselves on different islands of the group. A stone chapel was commenced at Honolulu, which is being completed. Temporary houses of worship were erected at other places.

It was a disadvantage to the cause of Romanism, so far as the more intelligent and sober part of the natives was concerned, that it was intruded once and again upon the nation when the rulers were struggling to keep it at a distance; and that finally it was forced upon the islands at the mouth of the cannon and at the point of the bayonet. It came, of course, laden with reproach and odium to minds strongly prejudiced and opposed.

It was a disadvantage, too, to Romanism, in the view of the same class of persons, that it came associated with ardent spirits. The treaty requiring the admission of Catholic priests required also the admission of ardent spirits almost free of duty, and the brig which brought the company of priests brought also a cargo of ardent spirits.

For these and for other reasons, which are obvious and the same everywhere, the chiefs and the most enlightened and substantial class of the people have not been inclined to unite with the Romanists. The Catholic priests, as yet, have had most success in distant and secluded portions of the islands, where the people are very ignorant. In such places considerable influence has been exerted by pretended miracles and by the bestowment of handkerchiefs and other tempting presents.

To the ignorant we may add also the vicious, as the persons most inclined to become Romanists. To indulge the hope of salvation without a reformation of life, is very congenial to depraved men, and a change of heart and life is not insisted on by Papal teachers. A third class, as is said, are the disaffected. It is commonly remarked that the Papal priests are not slow to take advantage of any disaffection that may spring up among the people toward the government—that if any persons are dissatisfied with the laws of the

kingdom or with the proceedings of the chiefs, they are soon heard of as having united with the Romanists. Such a remark, I apprehend, is not without foundation.

The number who have as yet become converts to Romanism is not very great. Some who attended their ceremonies for a length of time and were reckoned as converts have become tired and disgusted, and are now regular attendants at the meetings of Protestants.

The government of the islands has been, and is still, in constant perplexity on account of the Romanists. To frame laws, particularly school laws and marriage laws, that shall not be more or less resisted by them seems to be impossible.

Popery is a system of such a nature as necessarily interferes with governmental regulations, and can never, from its very nature and essential elements, dwell comfortably with a government which does not sympathize with it and conform to it. A great number of particular instances of complaint, disturbance and opposition might be given in illustration, but they would protract this chapter beyond its proper limits.

In contemplating Romanism at these islands, at other islands in this ocean, and in truth throughout the world our only consolation consists in rememhernig the full and explicit predictions of God's holy word in regard to it, and in pleading that these predictions may be speedily accomplished.

CHAPTER XII.

RELATIVE POSITION.

View of Polynesia—Discouragements and Success—Hervey Islands—Aitutaki—Mangaia—Roratonga—Samoa Islands—Friendly Islands—Marquesas—Magnitude of the Work—Divine Favor—Results.

It was stated as a strong reason for education at the Sandwich Islands, that it was necessary to raise up a native agency for the numerous islands of the wide Pacific,—that the training of native laborers was the only hope of a large extent of Polynesia. It may be well, therefore, to look at the wide field of which the Sandwich Islands are a part—to bring in at one view the different groups of islands in the Pacific to which the gospel has been carried and those which still lie in darkness, and at one general glance catch some outline of the progressive extension of Christianity from island to island and from group to group. And, particularly, it may be well to notice the experience already gained of the use of native laborers in this work under the superintendence of missionaries. For if teachers of such limited information as those employed have been of great service, what may we not expect, under God, from laborers thoroughly trained in our Mission Seminary?

But not only the importance of schools at the Sandwich Islands, but the importance of all missionary efforts here, can only be properly judged of by taking into view the whole race, with similar language, modes, and customs, of which the Sandwich Islanders are merely one tribe.

The Sandwich Islanders, too, should be looked at as a nation, in connection with other branches of the same race. Their relative and real importance cannot be duly estimated without such a view.

Let us consider, then, the Sandwich Islands as connected with the wide extent of Polynesia—look at the whole field,

and collect the main facts that history may afford in regard to it. In doing this, information may be drawn from a variety of sources, and especially from the narrative of Mr. Williams. I wish it to be understood that I attempt not a detailed account of missionary enterprises throughout Polynesia, but only such a general sketch as may assist in judging correctly of the bearing and importance of missionary efforts at the Sandwich Islands, and the relative importance of the nation. The reader is requested to look at the facts that follow with this thought distinctly in mind.

Take, then, a map, and spread it out before you. Island after island and group after group, various in size and almost endless in number, dot the whole surface of the wide Pacific. Some of these islands marked on the map do not exist—a vast number not marked do exist. The Pacific is yet a field of discovery. Though an immense number of islands are already known, yet many more doubtless remain to be sought out,—and of those that have been discovered, few, comparatively, have been fully explored.

The islands of the Pacific, so far as has yet been ascertained, are peopled by two races, who are, in a great measure, distinct. Let us divide the islands of this ocean, then, according to races, into Eastern and Western. The Western islands, so far as known, are said to be inhabited by a people somewhat resembling the Africans. The Eastern islands, including New Zealand, exhibit a race which, with little doubt, may be called the Malay race. The principal islands and groups of this range, commencing at the south, are New Zealand, the Hapai Islands, the Vavau Islands, the Navigator's Islands, the Friendly Islands, the Hervey Islands, the Dangerous Archipelago, the Tahitian and Society Islands, the Marquesas Islands, and the Sandwich Islands. The inhabitants of all this Eastern range exhibit the same color, the same features, the same manners and customs, and speak substantially the same language. And they not only resemble each other in all these respects, but in a great measure also the Malays of the coast. The manner in which the race

might have spread over so great an extent of ocean I have before explained.

The islands are of three kinds. There are, first, the low coralline islands, yielding little else than the cocoanut tree; then what are sometimes called the crystal rock islands, somewhat more elevated and fertile; and last and most important, the volcanic islands. All the larger islands are volcanic—high, and thrown together, apparently, in immense confusion,—exhibiting every thing that is beautiful, grand, and awful in prospect, and possessing at the same time a luxuriant soil. The productions throughout all the larger islands of Eastern Polynesia are substantially the same, and so also, to a great extent are the customs of the people and their modes of living.

Not many years since, the inhabitants of this whole range of islands were lying in untold vileness, abomination and crime. They were wrapped in a veil of darkness many centuries thick—sunk to a depth of degradation entirely unfathomable, and covered with the bloody marks of savage rage and horrid superstition. Now most of these islands and groups of islands have been in part evangelized. The sun of righteousness has beamed upon the Pacific. The name of Jesus is known from New Zealand to Hawaii, and the saving health of His precious gospel is felt more or less throughout this whole extent. With the map in one hand and history in the other, let us begin at the south, and take a very brief outline of what God has been pleased to accomplish.

At New Zealand missionaries of the Church and Wesleyan missionary societies have labored since 1814. They have met with very many discouragements and trials from the wild and fierce disposition of the people, but their efforts have not been unattended with success. The numerous and extremely ferocious inhabitants of those two large islands have been brought in a good measure into a state of peace and quietness by the mild influences of the religion of Jesus and not a few souls have been safely gathered into His precious fold. For details of the work and interesting inci-

dents, look at the periodicals of the Church and Wesleyan missionary societies. We pass on north.

The introduction of the gospel into the Tahitian, Society and other groups that are strictly called the Isles of the South Pacific, was an enterprise early undertaken by Christians of England, under the highest hopes—and on a scale of effort, for the times truly noble and praiseworthy.

The Island of Tahiti, for beauty and luxuriance the Queen of the South Seas, was discovered by Captain Wallis in 1767. A year or two after, it was visited by Captain Cook and more fully explored. At the same time a vast number of the adjacent islands were also discovered. Accounts were soon published that were full of novelty and interest. The climate was represented as most salubrious—the cold of winter never known, and the heat of a tropical country alleviated by breezes from the ocean. The scenery of the islands was represented as most enchanting, and the productions novel and abundant. Facts of this kind, mostly true, but shaded with something of the marvelous, excited great interest.

There arose very soon in the hearts of Christians a desire to add the crowning blessing of the gospel to the natural advantages and beauties of the Isles of the Sea. Many were ready to embark in the new enterprise. Twenty-nine years, however, rolled away, and one generation went down unsaved. O, how slow we move! Sandal wood would have attracted ships there in one-tenth the time.

At length the London Missionary Society purchased a ship and sent out no less than twenty-five laborers to commence missions simultaneously at the Marquesan, Tahitian, and Friendly Islands.

At this time there was no experience in commencing missions among barbarous tribes—the work was entirely an unexplored work—and it should not surprise us, in looking back, to find that some movements were quite romantic and some measures ill-judged.

The Marquesan mission failed. At Tongatabu, one of the Friendly Islands, some of the missionaries lost their lives;

and that mission, in consequence of a series of disastrous circumstances, was abandoned; those settled at Tahiti under favorable circumstances at first, had, from fear of their lives, nearly all fled to New South Wales; so that, after a few years little remained of the splendid embassy of Christian mercy to the South Seas. A few of the brethren persevered in the work. They appeared, however, to be laboring in vain. For sixteen years, notwithstanding every effort, no spirit of interest or inquiry appeared—the wars of the natives continued frequent and desolating, and their idolatries abominable and cruel. The heavens were brass, and the earth iron. At length God was pleased to bestow His favor, and it was in such a manner and at such a time as to secure to Himself the glory of the whole work. This is a fact worthy of special notice.

The few persevering missionaries who remained were driven away from the island of Tahiti by war, and cut off from all communication with it. Two native servants, formerly in their families, had received, unknown to them, some favorable impressions, and had united together for prayer. To these a number of persons had attached themselves, so that, on the return of the missionaries at the termination of the war, they found quite a number of praying people. About this time the patrons of the mission in England were about to abandon it—the entire want of success had almost discouraged them. Some, however, were determined to persevere. Among these was Dr. Hawes, who threw in, as a test of his unyielding faith, two hundred pounds. Rev. Matthew Wilks said “he would rather sell his garments from his back than that the mission should be given up,” and proposed that a season of special prayer for the divine blessing should be observed. The proposition was agreed to, and letters of encouragement were sent to the missionaries; and while the vessel which carried the letters was on her passage to Tahiti, another ship was conveying to England, not only the news of the entire overthrow of idolatry, but even the idols themselves that had been rejected.

How true it is that to be the instruments of any great and

eminently useful event on earth, God will require of us perseverance and faith! And how true, too, that He will thus arrange the time and the means as to humble the instruments and magnify His sovereign grace!

From the time spoken of till the present, a rapid series of successes has attended the labors of missionaries in the South Seas, so that island after island, and group after group, have in rapid succession been brought externally to acknowledge the Christian religion, and in some measure, too, to feel its benign and healing influences. But the main fact is all I can mention.

Let us pass on to notice the extension of gospel light from the Tahitian and Society Islands to other groups adjacent.

I love to notice the leadings of God's providence—the incipient movements of His hand in bringing about great and glorious results. The work of missions in the Pacific, from New Zealand to Hawaii, has been peculiarly marked from the commencement till now with the special indications of an ever-watchful providence. It was so with the extension of the gospel from the Society Islands to other islands adjacent. At Raiatea (one of the Society Islands), the minds of the missionaries and of the native converts were awakened to the subject by a peculiarly interesting circumstance. I will relate it.

There is an island by the name of Rurutu about 350 miles south of Raiatea. It was visited by an epidemic, and Auura, a chief of some energy, determined to commit himself to the wind and waves and seek some happier isle. The chief with a number of men embarked in canoes. Their island soon faded from view, and left them amidst the tossings of the restless ocean. They fell upon the island of Tabuai. Here they recruited their strength, and, supposing that the epidemic from which they had fled to have ceased, embarked again to return to their native isle. A storm overtook them—drove them from their course, and tossed them about upon the trackless deep for three weeks; when, in the providence of God, the chief and other survivors were driven on the reef of Maurua, an island west from Tahiti. They

had come within the horizon of the sun of righteousness. There were no foreign missionaries on the island, but the natives of Maurua told the strangers of the true God and the true religion. The strangers wished to see for themselves the teachers from the land of light. They set sail, therefore, and reached Raiatea, and were much surprised and delighted at the neat dwellings and other Christian improvements which they saw, and at the new and amazing truths which they heard. They remained three months, and in that time Auura and several of his men not only gained considerable knowledge of the gospel, but learned also, to some extent, to read, spell and write.

A foreign ship touched at Raiatea that was going in the direction of Rurutu, and Auura desired to return and communicate what he had learned to his dark-hearted countrymen. He said, however, he could not return to his "native land of darkness without a light in his hand," meaning some person to instruct him more thoroughly.

The church members were assembled and Auura's request made known. Two deacons said: "Here are we—send us." They sailed. A boat was sent in company with a native crew to bring back intelligence. A little more than a month after the boat returned. It was laden with the trophies of victory, the gods of the heathen taken in a bloodless war, won by the power of the Prince of Peace.

A meeting was held in the evening to praise the Lord for this triumph of His gospel. The rejected idols of Rurutu were spread out in full view as an indisputable evidence of what God had wrought. So speedily was an external change wrought from idolatry to the Christian religion.

Soon after this, the American ship, *Falcon*, Captain Chase, was wrecked on the island. The captain and crew were kindly treated.

Soon after, the deputation of Tyreman and Bennet touched at the island—found many improvements, and, among others, a pleasant house of worship. The balustrade of the pulpit staircase was constructed of their former war-spears.

Thus Rurutu, so far as the external act is concerned, was converted to Christianity, and all the circumstances attending the event were of so interesting a kind as to make a powerful impression on the minds of the missionaries and native Christians of Raiatea and other islands of the Society group. They were aroused to the thought of extending abroad the precious light of the gospel to the benighted islands on their right hand and on their left.

About this time, too, it became necessary for Mr. Williams of Raiatea, on account of the sickness of his family, to visit New South Wales. They determined, therefore, to take the Hervey Islands in their way and to station there, if possible, two native teachers. The church were assembled, and selected Papeiha and Vahapata for this interesting expedition.

Our information in regard to the Hervey group is almost entirely from the narrative of Mr. Williams. They are from 500 to 600 miles west of Tahiti, and are seven in number—Mauke, Mitaro, Atiu, Mangaia, Rarotonga, Hervey's Island, and Aitutaki. Very little was known of them till they were visited by Mr. Williams and Mr. Bourne in 1823.

Hervey's Island is really two small islets—was discovered by Captain Cook—is surrounded by a reef, having no entrance for shipping. When visited by Mr. Williams in 1823, wars had reduced the population to about sixty individuals. Six or seven years after, they had fought so desperately that the only survivors were five men, three women, and a few children; and there was yet a contention among them who should be king!

Mauke is a low island—is about fifteen miles in circumference; was discovered by Messrs. Williams and Bourne in 1823. Wars had reduced the population to about three hundred souls.

Mitaro is an island similar in appearance to Mauke, but still smaller. Famine and invasion had reduced the population to about one hundred souls.

Atiu is a larger island—is about twenty miles in circumference—was discovered by Captain Cook—is somewhat ele-

vated and beautifully verdant, and has a population of about two thousand souls.

Mangaia is also hilly—is about twenty-five miles in circumference—was discovered by Captain Cook, and has a population of between two and three thousand souls.

Rarotonga is the most important island of the group—is quite elevated and verdant—is surrounded by a reef, having only landing places for boats—is about thirty miles in circumference, and has a population of between six thousand and seven thousand souls. It was discovered by Mr. Williams in 1823.

Aitutaki is the last of the seven islands—was discovered by Captain Cook—its landscapes are rich and variegated—is about eighteen miles in circumference, and has a population of about two thousand souls.

The population of the whole group then is between fourteen thousand and sixteen thousand souls.

The island of this group to which the gospel was first introduced was Aitutaki. This was the island at which Mr. Williams touched on his voyage from Raiatea to New South Wales, of which we have taken notice. At that time many of the islands of the group were not known. The Aitutakians were found exhibiting all the disgusting and wild features of savage life. Mr. Williams succeeded in gaining a friendly interview with Tamatoa the chief, and left with him Papeiha and Vahapata, the two Raiatea teachers of whom we have made mention. These two teachers seemed at first to be kindly received, but many trials awaited them. All their little property was soon stripped from them—they were frustrated in their efforts by the frequent wars that prevailed, and the people spoke contemptuously of them, as “two logs of drift wood, washed on shore by the waves of the ocean.”

After some months a ship from Raiatea touched to visit the teachers, and brought various articles for their comfort. This attention raised their importance at once in the minds of the people. At this time, too, a peculiar circumstance in the providence of God had much influence. A

daughter of Tamatoa, the chief, was taken very ill. The priests offered many sacrifices, and put up many invocations to the gods; but the child died. The king was angry at the gods for thus requiting his kindness, and sent his son to burn the sacred inclosures. Several were burned. The worshippers, however, checked the work of destruction.

On succeeding days many idols were brought and cast at the feet of the teachers. The next Sabbath—the third Sabbath of December, 1822—about fifteen months from the first landing of the two teachers, almost the whole of the population were convened under the shade of a grove, to hear of the true God and His holy religion. Of course a conflagration of temples and a rejection of idols ensued; and the people engaged with readiness and zeal in erecting a house for the worship of Jehovah.

Partly to encourage and strengthen the work, and partly to explore other islands of the group and carry teachers to them, Messrs. Williams and Bourne, with four native church-members, selected for new missions, set out to re-visit the Island of Aitutaki. On their arrival they were saluted with the glad tidings: “Good is the word of God—it is now well with Aitutaki.” “The good word has taken root at Aitutaki.” A neat thatched chapel was erected. A ringing sound, produced by striking an axe with a stone, was a substitute for a bell. Eighteen months before they were among the wildest people of Polynesia—now somewhat mild and docile, learning to read, and gaining some knowledge of true religion; then cannibals—now paying an eternal homage at least to the God of peace and love, and some few, as may be hoped, adding the true homage of the heart.

Gods, and bundles of gods, were taken on board the vessel—trophies of another victory of the gospel of Jesus.

The people of Aitutaki have continued to learn more and more of the way of life, but they have had none to guide them but native teachers who, with the means of instruction heretofore afforded, have possessed but very limited information, and been often erroneous and wayward in their practice. In speaking of Aitutaki, as well as of other islands

that I shall mention, a difference, wide as the world, must be placed between an external renunciation of idolatry and true conversion to God.

From Aitutaki, the next island touched at by Messrs. Williams and Bourne was Mangaia. On arriving it was found impossible either to induce the natives to come on board, or to land among them. At length the enterprising and fearless Papeiha, who had labored so zealously at Aitutaki, and who now accompanied the expedition, offered to make the attempt of landing alone. As there was no opening in the reef for a boat, he unhesitatingly leaped into the sea and swam through the surf. He was borne safe on the top of a billow to the shore. He was kindly received—stated to the assembled chiefs and people the object of the visit, and proposed that two teachers and their wives should reside among them. The people expressed a desire that the teachers should land immediately. Papeiha returned to the vessel with this encouraging information, and the two teachers, with their wives, and Papeiha to pilot them, went on shore. On landing, their persons and property were immediately seized. They suffered the loss of all things, and escaped to the vessel at the great hazard of their lives. As they came again on board their appearance was truly deplorable. Their hats and bonnets had been torn from their heads—they had been dragged through water and through mud, and their whole apparel was hanging in ribbons about them. The chief, on being upbraided for treachery, replied that in his island, all heads being of an equal height, his influence was not sufficient to protect them.

Thus pleasing anticipations were for a time frustrated. But, some time after, Davida and Tiere were sent thither. They, like Papeiha before them, leaped into the sea and swam ashore, taking nothing but a light dress each, and a portion of the Scriptures, carefully wrapped and tied upon their heads. Contrary to expectations, they were kindly received—that Providence, which has been so signal in all missionary movements in the Pacific, had prepared the way before them. Soon after the unsuccessful visit spoken of, a

disease broke out at the islands which was exceedingly fatal. They concluded at once that the disease was inflicted by the gods of the strangers, and made a solemn vow that if the strangers would return they would treat them kindly. When the teachers arrived, therefore, many of the people of Mangaia received them with favor and listened to their instructions. A heathen party continued, however, to annoy them much, threatening to kill them and make use of their skulls as "drinking cups."

The island was visited by missionaries in 1830, '31 and '33, when much improvement was witnessed; attended, however, with some evils. It must be remembered that the only instructors of small islands like this have been mere native teachers—frail in judgment, limited in information, and too often wayward in practice. O, that they had enjoyed the benefit of competent schools, and been thoroughly trained! What good then, under God, might they not have accomplished! To impress this truth is a main object of the present chapter. And is it not, I ask, forced upon us at every page?

We proceed to notice three other islands of the group: Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke. These are three small islands, and being under one chief, it is natural to mention them together. When first visited by the missionaries, the name of the chief was Romatane. The time of the visit was after the unsuccessful attempt to plant teachers on Mangaia. The missionaries sailed thence direct to Atiu. The chief, Romatane, soon came off to the vessel, and the chief of Aitutaki, who was on board, immediately began to tell Romatane, in a zealous and enthusiastic manner, of the superior claims and advantages of Christianity—its reception at Aitutaki, and the overthrow of idols. Romatane was at once favorably impressed, concluded to renounce idolatry, and expressed a desire for axes to cut down trees to erect a house for the worship of Jehovah. He said, moreover, there were other islands under his authority which he was certain would unite in the important revolution. These islands were Mitiaro and Mauke, islands entirely unknown to Europeans. The missionaries, with Romatane, their chief, sailed imme-

diately to visit them. From the representations given, and the influence of their chief, the people of these islands immediately assented to change their idolatry for the new religion.

Thus, almost in a day, three islands, and two of them never known before, renounced idolatry so far, observe cautiously, as the external act is concerned, and embraced Christianity in its stead. The first vessel that ever visited the islands of Mitiaro and Mauke carried thither the gospel and brought away their hideous idols.

At subsequent visits to these islands a gradual advancement was witnessed in the knowledge of God, and some little improvement in morals and civilized habits—as much, certainly, as could have been expected from the character and qualifications of their very imperfect native teachers.

We will now give a moment to the last and most important of the Hervey group, which is Rarotonga. This island, like some other islands I have named, was undiscovered. The missionaries had heard of it from the people of adjacent islands, and on Aitutaki they found some natives of Rarotonga who had been lost at sea and had landed there. Taking on board these natives they sailed in search of the island. Their search for a time was entirely in vain. At length they reached the island of Atiu, and from there obtained the direction of Rarotonga from the chief Romatane. On arriving a canoe with Vahineino and Papeiha was sent on shore. Being kindly received, they gave an account of the rejection of idolatry in islands already visited, and proposed to leave some teachers who should teach them, also, respecting the true religion. The king, Makea, and his attendants, seemed pleased, and the teachers came immediately on shore.

Notwithstanding this apparent welcome, they returned the next morning to the vessel, exhibited their tattered garments and told of the perils which they had escaped. Thus the hope of planting a mission at Rarotonga was almost given up, when Papeiha, who had before exhibited so much devotion and fearlessness, offered to remain alone at Rarotonga,

provided that a helper that he named could be sent to his aid. He took an affectionate farewell, stepped down in a canoe, and went ashore—carrying with him nothing but the clothes he wore, his native Testament, and a bundle of elementary books. The vessel sailed, and Paheiha was left, with no friend or companion but his God, in the midst of a dark and savage population.

Under every discouragement and threat, he began to tell the dark-hearted heathen the way to heaven. There was a little rock on which he used to stand and speak to those who would assemble. He sometimes pressed into the midst of the heathen assemblies and represented the folly of their ceremonies. Providence protected him, and, at length, the force of his addresses began to take effect; and he was encouraged, also, by the arrival of his promised helper.

About this time a priest brought his idol to the teachers. One of the teachers took a saw, cut the idol to pieces, roasted bananas upon it, and proceeded to eat them. The surrounding crowd expected that the teachers would fall down dead, but after looking a long while, like the people of Melita, they changed their minds.

Soon Tinomana, the chief of a neighboring district, invited the teachers to his residence, declaring his determination to embrace Christianity, and bringing forth his huge idols, committed them to the flames. Some of the people were enraged at the chief for listening, as they said, to worthless fellows,—“drift wood from the sea, washed on shore by the waves of the ocean.” Some frantic women cut their bodies with sharks’ teeth, smeared themselves with blood from their wounds, and broke forth into wailing. “Alas! alas! the gods of the madman Tinomana, the gods of the insane chief, are given to the flames.” The destruction of the idols, however, was not arrested. Pa, another chief, became a convert. At this some opposers came about his dwelling and loudly vociferated, “Why do you preserve two rotten sticks driven on shore by the waves? Why do you listen to the froth of the sea?” Notwithstanding this opposition, Christianity gained ground. The following circumstance had much influence:

A Tahitian woman had in some way been brought to Rarotonga, and she, in a manner very characteristic of the heathen, represented the advantages of the christian religion. She said, "The people of Tahiti had ceased to use stone axes for hewing their trees, for the servants of Jehovah had brought sharp things with which they could cut them down with the greatest facility; that they ceased to use human bones as tools for making canoes and building houses, for the same people had brought sharp, hard things with which they could effect their work with greater ease; that their children did not cry and scream when they had their hair cut as they formerly did when it was performed with sharks' teeth, for the strangers had brought shining and sharp things with which the hair was easily clipped; that they had no need now to go down to the water to look at themselves, because these wonderful people had brought them small, shining things which they could carry about with them and in which they could see themselves as plainly as they could see each other." This representation had no little force upon the people of Rarotonga.

Through the labors of the teachers, and the influence of such circumstances as I have named, a little more than a twelvemonth after the discovery of the island the whole population had renounced idolatry.

Papeiha and his colleague wrote to the missionaries for help—for the work, said they, is "so heavy that we cannot carry it." The cry was heeded, and soon foreign laborers took up their abode on the island. The mission has been a prosperous one, though, since its commencement it has struggled with a fatal epidemic and a desolating hurricane. Some souls have been hopefully brought to a knowledge of Christ. Among others, a poor cripple who, as the people returned from the services, was in the habit of taking his seat by the wayside and begging a bit of the word of them as they passed by. "One," said he, "gives me one piece, another another piece, and I collect them together in my heart."

Many interesting things might be said of Rarotonga, but

a mere sketch is all we at present aim at. We pass on to other islands.

The Samoa, or Navigator's group of islands, whose situation is prominent as you glance at the map, is one of the largest and most populous in the Pacific at which missions have been commenced.

The islands are eight in number: Savaii, Upolu, Tutuila, Manono, Aborima, Maurua, Orosenga, and Ofu. Savaii is about two hundred and fifty miles in circumference, Upolu is about one hundred and fifty, Tutuila is about eighty, and the rest are much smaller. The population is not known, but roughly estimated at near 160,000 souls.

The introduction of Christianity to this important group has been attended with very interesting circumstances.

The mind of Mr. Williams had long been directed to this group. In 1830 he set out to visit it in a vessel called "The Messenger of Peace," which he had constructed with his own hands, with but few tools, on the heathen island of Rarotonga. He touched on his way at Tongatabu, one of the Friendly Islands, where some Wesleyan missionaries were successfully laboring. Here notice the directing hand of an allwise and favoring Providence. While at Tongatabu a man came to Mr. Williams and stated that he was a chief of the Navigator's Islands, and was desirous of returning and would use all his influence in favor of the Christian religion. His name was Fauea. His statement was the truth, and his influence tended, perhaps, more than anything else, to secure to the missionaries a favorable reception.

Notice also another providence. Fauea said there was a personage at the islands called Tamafainga in whom the people supposed the spirit of the gods dwelt, and there was reason to fear from him the most violent opposition. On arriving, the first intelligence was, "Tamafainga is dead." They came to anchor between the two largest islands of Savaii and Upolu.

Fauea was greeted by his countrymen as their long-lost chief, and he immediately commenced giving them an account of the islands adjacent that had embraced Christianity.

He gave a graphic description of the favorable change, and the superiority of their present advantages over their former condition. The impression he made was instantaneous and decided.

The first chief they met was Tamalelangi. Malietoa, his brother, was engaged in battle. While one was kindly conveying the teachers to his shores, his brother was shedding blood; and the smoke of burning villages was distinctly in sight. The warrior, however, when sent for, came and received the teachers kindly, but could not be persuaded to discontinue the war. He strangely promised that as soon as the war was over he would zealously attend to the new religion. Mr. Williams succeeded in stationing native teachers on the islands under favorable circumstances, and then returned.

Mr. Williams revisited the islands in 1832. On nearing the shore of Maurua, the first of the group, the shout from the first canoe was, "We are Christians, we are Christians." The islands of Orosenga and Ofu were yet in entire darkness—had earnestly requested teachers, but the laborers were too few. At Tutuila a few had embraced Christianity, but a fierce war was raging. The little company was very desirous of a teacher. A leading man among them said: "I go down in my little canoe (to the teachers at the other islands), get some religion which I bring carefully home and give to the people; and when that is gone I take my canoe again and fetch more. And now you are come, give me a man full of religion, that I may not expose my life to danger by going so long a distance to fetch it." It was trying to deny his earnest importunity. And in view of it, Mr. Williams exclaims, "O, when shall it be that missionaries shall not be doled out as they now are, but when their number shall bear some proportion to the wants of the heathen?"

At Upolu many of the natives wished to be regarded as Christians.

At Manono the chief Matetau came off, vociferating "Where is my missionary?" and on receiving a native teacher, seemed to be very happy.

On arriving at the anchorage where the former teachers were left, it was found that in the large islands of Savaii and Upolu the gospel had been introduced, to some extent, in more than thirty villages—a chapel was erected, and the chief, Maleitoa, was favorably impressed. At this visit an arrangement was made for the residence of foreign missionaries who have since taken up their abode upon those interesting islands and are laboring with success. The intelligence from this very important group is from time to time very cheering. The detail would be interesting, but our aim now is, as stated above, a brief summary of facts to illustrate some definite thoughts.

A little south-west from the Navigator's Islands are the Friendly Islands. At Tongatabu, one of the Friendly Islands, it will be recollected, some of the missionaries were planted, who first sailed to the South Seas. A part of the company lost their lives and the remainder fled to New South Wales. Some years after, native teachers were sent thither from the Society Islands, who gained a residence, and labored with some success. In 1814 missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society went there, found the field encouraging, and have ever since labored at that and adjoining islands with much success.

Near the Friendly Islands is a cluster of small islands called the Hapai Islands.

Taufaahau, the chief of the Hapai Islands, heard of the introduction of the Christian religion at Tongatabu, one of the Friendly Islands, and determined to go and judge for himself of its character and its advantages. He came to Tongatabu, listened to the instructions of the missionaries, learned to read, saw the improvements that were introduced, and at once decided to embrace Christianity. He returned to his group of islands with some native teachers and induced his people to abandon their idols and listen to the word of God. He was so determined and resolute as to hang up in public places by the neck many of the idols, as a sign of contempt, and as the true desert of their deception. A foreign missionary has since taken up his residence on

Lefuga, the principal island of the group, and is laboring with encouragement.

There is another little cluster of islands near by called the Vavau Islands.

Finau, the chief of this group, was at first violently opposed to any change at his islands—threatened with death any who should favor the Christian religion, and, it is said, actually carried his threats into execution. But not long after, this same ferocious Finau was hopefully converted to the Christian faith and became active in the overthrow of idolatry.

In regard to the Dangerous Archipelago—an extensive cluster of very small islands south-east from the Society Islands—most of them have been visited by missionaries; and on many of them native teachers are planted who are doing as much as could be expected from their qualifications and character. On some of them Roman Catholic missionaries have gained a permanent residence and are industrious and successful in communicating the peculiarities of their faith.

The Marquesas Islands, which you see prominently on the map, are yet the darkest islands in Eastern Polynesia. It will be recollected that some of the first missionaries from England were located here. They stayed but a short time. The islands were then left in entire darkness until 1833, when a colony of three missionaries and their wives, from the Sandwich islands, went and resided there eight months. They saw abominations untold and incommunicable, endured peculiar trials, and met with great discouragements. For a variety of reasons, particularly the wish of the London Missionary Society to occupy the field, which they can more conveniently do than the American Board, our brethren left. The London Missionary Society has since been doing something for that group, but the prospect is very discouraging. Roman Catholic missionaries are entering that field to add, as we fear, a new delusion to the errors of heathenism.

Passing on north from the Marquesas, we come to the Sandwich Islands, and complete the sketch proposed.

I have glanced at all the principal groups of Eastern Polynesia, and stated the main facts in regard to them. These facts, in the form of simple narration, have been sufficiently graphic, I trust, to be kept in mind while we make that use of them for which they were introduced.

Let us notice then, first, that the missionary enterprise in the Pacific ocean is not a small enterprise. It does not appear a small enterprise if you look at its hardships. It has been a barbarous, dark, and unexplored field. Neither does it seem a small enterprise if you look at the extent of the field. It is not merely in a few islands that missionary effort is expended, but in the whole of Eastern Polynesia, embracing the whole range from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands—about one-third, as it appears to the eye, of the Isles of the Pacific. I have heard the remark that an undue amount of labor is bestowed on so small a field as the Sandwich Islands. This would not be true even if this group were isolated. But look at the islands as only a part of a wide field, and at the people as only a portion of a numerous race, and certainly that remark cannot be repeated. Again, the enterprise cannot appear small if we look at the results. How vast and how important the changes effected!

Again, the missionary enterprise in the Pacific, the introduction and progress of Christianity in all the groups of islands, is a work that has been marked by God's special favor—the timely and remarkable interpositions of His providence. No one can revert to the history of either of the groups of islands without being impressed with this fact. We have seen this to be true of the Sandwich Islands, and we see it to be true also of all the islands. As missionaries have penetrated into different islands of the Pacific, God has remarkably verified His promise,—“Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.” The work is God's work—stamped with indubitable signs of His approbation.

There is one result of the missionary effort which is often overlooked,—the safety secured to ships in the Pacific that visit to refit or recruit at the different groups of islands. About thirty years ago there was not an island in all Polyne-

sia where a ship could touch without imminent peril. There is scarcely a group of islands with which is not connected some tale of massacre. Now, throughout the whole of Eastern Polynesia except, perhaps, the Marquesas Islands, ships may anchor, refit and recruit; and the seamen may wander in safety over the fields and through the groves. If the missions in the Pacific had been sustained entirely by our government and the governments of Europe it would have been a small expenditure compared with the mere commercial advantages which have been gained—a far more economical expenditure than characterizes most of our national enterprises. What does it require to support one man-of-war or one exploring squadron? Yet how limited the results in comparison—how small, I say, if we look merely at the commercial benefit to the world!

But there are higher and nobler results which, as Christians, we cannot fail to rejoice over with deep-felt praise to the God of Missions. It is pleasant—unspeakably so, to take the map and mark one spot after another where heathenism, with its degradations, destitutions and woe; its horror, abominations, and crime is receding before the benign influences of the Gospel. Angels look down with delight and strike anew their harps of praise. The Savior smiles—and the Father bends from His eternal throne to see the glorious triumph.

But while we rejoice at what, under God, has been effected, let us also look at what remains to be done. Look at the extent of the Pacific, with its large and numerous islands, where no ray of light has ever penetrated—a darkness reigns that may be felt—and all the indescribable horrors of heathenism are entirely unmitigated.

In view of their condition, so dark and deplorable, and of the fact also that foreign laborers are so few, we cannot but see the importance of our mission seminaries. If so much use has been made, as appears from the facts narrated, of even very imperfectly trained teachers, what might not have accomplished by those better informed and well disciplined? Native laborers, it has been seen, can penetrate and reside

comfortably where Europeans cannot exist. Their habits and modes of life fit them for the work. They excite less suspicion and jealousy than white men. They have no foreign language to learn. They are fitted to mingle at once with the community, and they incur but little expense. What more powerful arguments could exist for training up native laborers—and for training them thoroughly, and in great numbers? Facts force upon us the conviction that our schools must be sustained as the great hope of Polynesia.

Will not many of my readers consider it a privilege to do something for the benighted islands of the Pacific? Soon death will remove us, and we shall no longer have a share in the glorious enterprise. It is so pleasant, so honorable, so delightful to pray and labor for the destitute and the dying; let us seize the privilege the short time it may be afforded.

CHAPTER XIII.

PRESENT STATE OF IMPROVEMENT.

Contrast—Books—Schools—Reform in Government—Improvement—The Bible and Its Translators—Christian Worship—Changes in Character—What the Gospel Can Do.

Having traced the succession of events from the earliest traditions to the present period, and having taken a view of the nation in its connection with other portions of Polynesia, we shall now close the history, after looking a little at the present improved state of the islanders in contrast with their former condition.

It may be remarked then, in the first place, that formerly they were sunk in ignorance—ignorance inconceivable. Of geography they knew nothing beyond the extent of their own islands; these little specks on the ocean were to them all the world. Within so small a sphere were their views circumscribed. Now they have, in their own language, two universal geographies—one compiled from various authors, and the other a free translation of the standard work of Woodbridge. They have with these geographies a complete atlas, engraved by themselves on copper. They have also a Scripture geography and a Scripture atlas. And the study of geography is attended to, not only in the seminary and boarding schools, but is also quite common throughout the islands.

Formerly they knew nothing of arithmetic beyond the simple process of counting. Now they have, in their language Fowles' child's arithmetic, Colburn's intellectual arithmetic, and Colburn's sequel, and the study of science is very general. Nothing has done more to arouse, strengthen, and discipline their minds than the study of intellectual arithmetic. They have also in their tongue a translation

of Bailey's algebra, a translation of Legendre's geometry now being printed, and a book on trigonometry, mensuration, navigation and surveying. These higher branches of mathematics are taught only in the mission seminary.

Formerly they had not the least conception of writing, printing and reading. The simple business of putting thoughts on paper, as I have before described, was to them so great a mystery that they stood in amazement and wild conjecture. Now it is a common practice with them to write letters to each other. They have a newspaper in their language, published once in two weeks, and many of the communications are from their own pens. About one-third or one-fourth of the whole population can read. Four printing presses and two binderies are in constant operation, except when stopped for want of funds, employing about forty native young men in both departments, who execute their work well with proper superintendence. They have now in their language the whole Bible, several hymn books,—one printed with music—religious books and school books of various kinds, making in all quite a library.*

Formerly they looked up to the planets and stars as mere specks in the heavens; now they have a tract on astronomy and their minds are beginning to be expanded with enlarged views of God's creation.

Formerly they had no schools except to teach their vile amusements and the art of breaking a man's bones for the purpose of robbery. They had something like schools for these purposes. Now you can enter a high school and see young men of intelligence demonstrating problems and theorems on a blackboard or answering questions with readiness in geography, history and religion. You can enter a female seminary too, and lower boarding schools, look upon their sparkling eyes, their cleanly though humble dress, witness the ardor and propriety of their behavior, and listen to the readiness of their answers.

And wherever you go, throughout the whole group of islands you will meet with schools of more or less interest.

Formerly they had no axe but one of stone; no clothing

* See Appendix E.

but the frail cloth of bark; no house but one of grass and leaves, and no conveyance from island to island but the unsafe canoe. Now iron is introduced; a great part of the people cover themselves with cottons and calicoes obtained from shipping in return for produce of the land. Several pieces of cotton cloth have been manufactured by themselves; sugar and molasses are made from the cane; some houses of stone have been erected; chairs and tables to some extent introduced, and a number of small vessels, as brigs and schooners, are owned by the chiefs and people. I must remark, however, that reformation in religion and morals is much more rapid than in the habits of civilized life. In the one case the arguments for reform are weighty as eternity; in the other, the considerations are of less moment. There has been, however, much reform in the habits of every day life. In measuring the progress which has been made in civilization, it is necessary to remark that no one can fully appreciate the advancement which has been made, except such as were acquainted with the actual position of the nation when the first step was taken to enlighten and civilize them. The difficulties of introducing habits of industry, the arts and usages of civilized life, are such as are wholly unknown to those who have never seen what heathenism is in its most revolting character. The careless observer or transient visitor may see but little to admire and much to disgust while those who have known the people in their most degraded state see that the advantages gained are very great.

Formerly the king and chiefs took the lives of their subjects at pleasure, and with little provocation. An instance is handed down of a king who made an inclosure of some extent with the bones of men. And another instance is mentioned of a king who took the life of every one whose dress or personal appearance happened at any time to be better than his. Now no chief would presume to take the life of a subject any sooner than the governor of one of the United States. Trial for capital offence is always by jury.

Formerly the government had no constitution and no laws except customs and usages. In such a state of things,

confusion, discord and oppression were the natural results. The burdens of the people were very great and no motive was held forth for industry and improvement. After the gospel was introduced and knowledge advanced, the evils of the government began to be seen by the chiefs and people, but could not be soon removed. It was far easier to discover the faults of the old feudal system than to devise a new and better form of government which could be carried into successful execution. There had been a great change in the nation, in religion, knowledge and morals, but the government remained essentially the same. Improvement in the government had not kept pace with other branches of improvement. What was adapted to the people in a savage and ignorant state was now very ill adapted. It was necessary that there should be a change. And the chiefs, feeling the necessity and at the same time being sensible of their incompetence to the task, wrote to their "Friends in the United States," requesting that a civilian might be sent to them on whom they might rely as a correct teacher of the science of government, in the same manner as religious teachers had been sent to teach them the truths of the Gospel. Such a teacher was not obtained, and in 1838, Mr. Richards, who had been for many years a missionary at the islands, having received from the king and chiefs a request to become their teacher in the science of government, regarded the invitation as an imperious call of Providence, and sought a dismissal from the Board to devote himself to this new sphere of labor. The rulers, with such aid and instruction, soon adopted a written constitution, organizing a government much better defined and much more liberal and enlightened than before existed. Soon, too, clear and specific laws were enacted on various subjects, which, receiving from time to time continual additions, constitute now a printed volume of 200 12mo pages; a code both criminal and civil, which for a nation so young in civilization is not only respectable, but worthy of all praise.

Formerly the family constitution was in ruins—a perfect chaos. Polygamy, polyandry, and everything of the kind

prevailed. Now the law prohibits any instance of union without regular marriage in a christian form, and society thus protected begins to exhibit a good degree of domestic peace.

Formerly theft prevailed to an unbounded extent. The people were called a nation of thieves. Not only things out of the house, but things within, even around your bed-side, were not safe. They would lurk about the door during the day and spy out the situation of articles, and at night, by a pole introduced at a window or some opening in the thatch, contrive to hook them out. Now property exposed is as safe as in Christian lands. It is common to commit valuable articles in perfect confidence to the people wherever you meet them. On arriving with my goods on the shores of Hilo, some boxes were too heavy to be carried with convenience to my house. I opened them on the beach and distributed the articles one by one to the promiscuous crowd and they were all carried safely to my room. This is a common occurrence. When we go from the various islands to attend general meeting, we leave our houses for weeks, with all our goods, entirely in the hands of the people, and on our return find every article safe and undisturbed.

Once robbery and murder were common. Now instances of robbery are scarcely heard of, personal violence is seldom witnessed, and cases of murder are much less frequent than in any one of the United States of America.

Intemperance once deluged the land. The nation was a nation of drunkards. But, before the Captain Laplace treaty, the manufacture, sale, and use of ardent spirits was strictly prohibited at the islands and viewed in the light of crime, like theft or robbery, and the importation of the article was prohibited on a heavy penalty. Since that treaty requiring the admission of wines and brandies, grog-shops have been opened at the ports frequented by foreigners, and not a few of the unwary natives have fallen victims to the degrading vice of intemperance. But the progress of the evil is now being resisted by a strong moral influence. About a year ago the king led the way by nobly renouncing

his cups and becoming a teetotaler. He has maintained his ground amidst numerous temptations, and still stands firm. Most of the chiefs and multitudes of the people followed his example. Some foreigners, too, who were far in the road to ruin have signed the teetotal pledge. The present prospect is full of hope and encouragement.

Open licentiousness once abounded. Society was a dead sea of pollution and many ships visiting the islands were floating exhibitions of Sodom and Gomorrah. Now all such immorality is frowned upon by public sentiment, and every gross act is punished by law. The odious sin is driven back as in Christian lands into deep concealment and midnight darkness.

There was once no God, no Bible, and no Sabbath. Now every soul on the islands has been instructed, more or less, in the great truths of religion, the Sabbath is noticed by all visitors for its peculiar stillness, and a good degree of sacredness, and the whole Bible is translated and in the hands of the people.*

Formerly idol worship prevailed, with all its obscenity, horror and blood. Picture to yourself a heathen assembly, naked, sun-burnt, vile and beastly, met in a large stone inclosure before huge images of horrid and fearful aspect, paying a frantic homage, exhibiting a trembling fear or a savage delight, and presenting on the altar the mangled bodies of their own fellow beings.

Now look again; that same crowd is reassembled. They are decently clad, and sit in stillness and order. In the midst of them, instead of the huge image stained with human blood, there stands the messenger of the meek and lowly Jesus, with the precious gospel in his hand. He is teaching them the way of life with kindness, affection, and earnestness. The people listen with attention and some of them with tears. Spread out neatly before him, instead of bleeding human victims, are the simple memorials of the dying love of Jesus. With apparent humility and deep felt gratitude, the communicants receive these emblems, retire with solemnity to their houses, and forget not to offer the evening

* See Appendix F.

prayer. Seventeen large congregations at least assemble regularly on the Sabbath at all which places churches have been gathered. Instead of the gloomy "heiau," there stands the neat stone church; instead of the drum of revelry there is the deep and solemn tones of the church-going-bell; instead of yells of savage joy and the shrieks of victims about to be immolated, there may be heard the harmonious song of praise and the tender sigh of the penitent.

Once infanticide prevailed to an alarming extent, and the murder of parents, too, and the desertion of the sick. I will not pain your hearts by presenting images once true to life—images at which the soul sickens and which exhibit more than most men are willing to admit of the deep degradation and crime of which our race is capable.

But you may ask, where now are these unnatural mothers and these unnatural sons? Go with me, and I will show you. Enter the sanctuary of God on a communion season and I will point you to many of them sitting at the table of the Lord. You shall see them exhibiting the loveliness and Christian graces of the true followers of Jesus; purified by the Holy Spirit and preparing to hold communion with the angels and with God. O, as I have stood at the communion table and called to mind the former character of this individual and of that, I have been held in mute astonishment at the transforming efficacy of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Let any one witness such a scene and candidly consider the facts and I shall honor not either his heart or his head if he continue to be an infidel. That the Bible is of human origin, and yet accomplishes such results, would be a stretch of credulity too great for a man of ordinary sense.

Again, scenes of excitement and great interest at the islands were once those only of noisy mirth and raging war. But now I can point you to seasons of interest of a different kind. Oh, that I could carry you from island to island, and from station to station, to witness the many precious and powerful revivals which have so signally marked the Sandwich Islands' mission. O that you could have seen, during the powerful outpouring of God's spirit, crowd upon crowd

thronging the house of the teacher, from the break of day to the midnight hour, inquiring, with heavy sighs and streaming tears, "What shall we do to be saved?" and had noticed, as hope beamed upon them, the lighting up of their countenances and the joy of their hearts—that you could have gone from station to station, at successive communion seasons, and seen the thousands who publicly enrolled themselves as the followers of Jesus. Then you would have exclaimed, with an earnestness and force of which you have not yet been sensible, "What hath God wrought! The Lord hath done great things for us. Oh that men would praise the Lord for His goodness and for His wonderful works to the children of men!" The conversion in one year of 20,000 souls from the population of the city of New York would not be a greater manifestation of the grace and power of God than what took place at the Sandwich Islands in 1838.

One pleasant fact, which I must not omit, is this. Not only are the islanders recipients of God's blessings, but they begin to impart these blessings to others. On the first Monday of the month they not only meet to pray for the heathen, but to contribute of their strength and their substance. At some stations they come in the morning and work on a cotton-field during the day, the avails of which are thrown into a missionary fund, to send the gospel to other islands of the Pacific. When the day's work is done, they meet for prayer. Others bring loads of wood on their shoulders as they come to the meeting, and throw it in a pile, which at the time of shipping may be converted into money. The women bring arrow-root, and fill barrels and casks with it, which may be converted in the same way. In these and in other ways some churches contribute several hundred dollars during the year for the spread of the gospel.

The district schools, of which there have been at times an immense number, are sustained by the people. The higher schools are assisted by them more or less in food and in such services as they can render. Several substantial meeting houses and school houses have been built by them, and

missionaries are assisted by them in various ways, so as to diminish much of their annual expenses.

When the missionaries for the Oregon Territory were at the islands and it was said at a public meeting that they needed some persons to go with them to help them in building houses, clearing land, and cultivating food, quite a number of church members rose up and offered themselves for that work.

From the narrative we are impressively taught this truth, that there is no state of degradation and crime too deep for the reach of the gospel. There is a perfect remedy in the gospel for the wants and woes of all mankind. If it could reach the low condition of the Sandwich Islanders, what people may it not elevate and save? There is no obstacle in the crimes and degradation of a ruined race that is insuperable to the grace of God. There is the strongest possible ground for encouragement, not only from God's word, but from what He has done. What He has effected for the Sandwich Islands, He is able and ready to do for every heathen people. There is power in the glorious Gospel of His crucified Son to raise up human beings from the lowest depths of degradation. Let us, then, take courage and press onward with renewed strength. Ah! I can almost imagine that I hear you say, "We will pray, we will give, and we will go too, that the name of Jesus may be known on earth and His saving health among all nations. If such are your feelings, O let them not be transient; let them show their permanency and power in your increased prayer and efforts. Then Jesus will look down and smile, angels will rejoice, the heathen will be saved, and you will meet them with indescribable delight on the heavenly hills. O who, who would not rejoice to meet there some heathen souls saved through his humble instrumentality?

CHAPTER XIV.

PROVISIONAL CESSION OF THE ISLANDS.

Arrival of H. B. M. S. Carysfort—Correspondence between Lord George Paulet and Hawaiian Government—Lord Paulet's Unjust Demands—Provisional Cession of the Islands to Great Britain—Provisional Government.

A recent event of a very important character will close the history. From representations made (in what way and with what degree of truth and justice remains for future development) H. B. M. Ship Carysfort, commanded by the Right Hon. Lord George Paulet, was sent to these islands, and on its arrival the following correspondence and proceedings took place:

Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort,
Oahu, 11th February, 1843.

Sir:—Having arrived at this port in her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort under my command for the purpose of affording protection to British subjects, as likewise to support the position of Her Britannic Majesty's representative here, who has received repeated insult from the government authorities of these islands, respecting which it is my intention to communicate only with the king in person.

I require to have immediate information by return of the officer conveying this despatch, whether or not the king (in consequence of my arrival) has been notified that his presence will be required here, and the earliest day on which he may be expected, as otherwise I shall be compelled to proceed to his residence in the ship under my command for the purpose of communicating with him.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

GEO. PAULET, Captain.

To Kekuanaoa, Governor of Oahu, etc., etc.

Honolulu, Oahu, February 11, 1843.

Salutations to you, Lord George Paulet, Captain of H. B. M. Ship Carysfort:—I have received your letter by the hand of the officer, and with respect inform you that we have not as yet sent for the king, as we were not informed of the business, but having learned from your communication that you wish him sent for, I will search for a vessel and send. He is at Wailuku, on the east side of Maui. In case the wind is favorable, he may be expected in six days.

Yours with respect,

(Signed:)

M. KEKUANA'OA.

Translated by G. P. Judd, Recorder and Translator for Government.

Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort,

Honolulu Harbor, Feb. 16, 1843.

Sir:—I have the honor to acquaint your Majesty of the arrival in this port of H. B. M. Ship under my command, and according to my instructions, I am desired to demand a private interview with you, to which I shall proceed with a proper and competent interpreter.

I therefore request to be informed at what hour tomorrow it will be convenient for your Majesty to grant me that interview.

I have the honor to remain your Majesty's most obedient and humble servant.

GEORGE PAULET, Captain.

To His Majesty Kamehameha III.

Honolulu, February 17, 1843.

Salutations to you, Lord George Paulet, Captain of Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort.

Sir:—We have received your communication of yesterday's date and must decline having any private interview, particularly under the circumstances which you propose. We shall be ready to receive any written communication from you tomorrow, and will give it due consideration.

In case you have business of a private nature, we will appoint Dr. Judd, our confidential agent, to confer with you, who, being a person of integrity and fidelity to our govern-

ment and perfectly acquainted with all our affairs, will receive your communication, give all the information you require (in confidence) and report the same to us.

With respect.

(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III,

(Signed:)

KEKAULUOHI.

I hereby certify the above to be a faithful translation. G. P. Judd, translator and interpreter for the government.

Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort,
Oahu, 17th of February, 1843.

Sir:—In answer to your letter of this day's date (which I have too good an opinion of your Majesty to allow me to believe ever emanated from yourself but from your ill advisers), I have to state that I shall hold no communication whatever with Dr. G. P. Judd, who, it has been satisfactorily proved to me has been the puny mover in the unlawful proceedings of your government against British subjects.

As you have refused me a personal interview, I enclose you the demands which I consider it my duty to make upon your government; with which I demand a compliance at or before 4 o'clock p. m. tomorrow (Saturday), otherwise I shall be obliged to take immediate coercive steps to obtain these measures for my countrymen.

I have the honor to be your Majesty's most obedient and humble servant.

GEORGE PAULET, Captain.

His Majesty, Kamehameha III.

Demands made by the Right Honorable Lord George Paulet, Captain R. N., commanding Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort, upon the king of the Sandwich Islands:

First. The immediate removal by public advertisement written in the native and English languages, and signed by the governor of this island and F. W. Thompson, of the attachment placed upon Mr. Charlton's property; the restoration of the land taken by government for its own use, and really appertaining to Mr. Charlton, and reparation for the heavy loss to which Mr. Charlton's representatives have been

exposed by the oppressive and unjust proceedings of the Sandwich Island government.

Second. The immediate acknowledgement of the right of Mr. Simpson to perform the functions delegated to him by Mr. Charlton; namely, those of Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul, until Her Majesty's pleasure be known upon the reasonableness of your objections to him. The acknowledgement of that right and the reparation for the insult offered to Her Majesty through her acting representative to be made by a public reception of his commission and the saluting the British flag with twenty-one guns, which number will be returned by Her Majesty's ship under my command.

Third. A guarantee that no British subject shall in future be subjected to imprisonment in fetters, unless he is accused of a crime which by the laws of England would be considered a felony.

Fourth. The compliance with a written promise given by King Kamehameha to Captain Jones, of Her Britannic Majesty's Ship *Curacoa*, that a new and fair trial would be granted in a case brought by Henry Skinner, which promise has been evaded.

Fifth. The immediate adoption of firm steps to arrange the matters in dispute between British subjects and natives of the country, or others residing here, by referring these cases to juries, one-half of whom shall be British subjects approved by the Consul, and all of whom shall declare upon oath their freedom from pre-judgment upon, or interest in, the cases brought before them.

Sixth. A direct communication between His Majesty Kamehameha and Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul, for the immediate settlement of all cases of grievances and complaint on the part of British subjects against the Sandwich Island government.

Dated on board H. B. M. S. *Carysfort*, at Oahu, this 17th day of February, 1843.

GEORGE PAULET, Captain.

Her British Majesty's Ship *Carysfort*,
Oahu, February 17, 1843.

Sir:—I have the honor to notify you that Her Britannic

Majesty's Ship Carysfort, under my command, will be prepared to make an immediate attack upon this town at 4 o'clock p. m. tomorrow (Saturday), in the event of the demand now forwarded by me to the king of these islands not being complied with by that time.

Sir, I have the honor to be your most obedient humble servant.

(Signed :) GEORGE PAULET, Captain.

To Captain Long, Commander U. S. S. Boston, Honolulu.

A true copy. Attest: Wm. Baker, Tr.

Honolulu, February 18.

Salutations to Right Hon. Lord George Paulet, Captain of H. B. M. S. Carysfort.

We have received your letter and the demands which accompanied it, and in reply would inform your Lordship that we have commissioned Sir George Simpson and William Richards as our Ministers Plenipotentiary and Envoys Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain, with full powers to settle the difficulties which you have presented before us, to assure Her Majesty, the Queen, of our uninterrupted affection, and to confer with her ministers as to the best means of cementing the harmony between us. Some of the demands which you have laid before us are of a nature calculated seriously to embarrass our feeble government by contravening the laws established for the benefit of all. But we shall comply with your demands, as it has never been our intention to insult Her Majesty, the Queen, or injure any of her estimable subjects, but we must do so under protest, and shall embrace the earliest opportunity of representing our case more fully to Her Britannic Majesty's government, through our ministers, trusting in the magnanimity of the sovereign of a great nation, which we have been taught to respect and love, that we shall there be justified.

Waiting your further order, with sentiments of respect,

(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III,

(Signed:)

KEKAULUOHI.

I hereby certify the above to be a faithful translation. G. P. Judd, translator for the government.

Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort,
Oahu, 18th of February, 1843.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of this date, wherein you intimate your intention of complying with my demands, which I have considered my duty to make upon your Majesty's government.

I appoint the hour of two o'clock this afternoon for the interchange of salutes, and I shall expect that you will inform me at what hour on Monday you will be prepared to receive myself and Her Britannic Majesty's representative.

I have the honor to be your Majesty's most obedient humble servant.

GEORGE PAULET, Captain.

His Majesty Kamehameha III.

Honolulu, Oahu, Feb. 18, 1843.

Salutations to Lord George Paulet, Captain of H. B. M. Ship Carysfort.

I have received your communication and make known to you that I will receive yourself and Her Britannic Majesty's representative on Monday, the 20th of February, at 11 o'clock a. m.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III.

I hereby certify the above to be a faithful translation. G. P. Judd, translator for the government.

An interview took place. Some of the demands were such (requiring when explained in detail heavy sums for alleged damages) as were not only regarded by the king as unjust and unreasonable, but utterly beyond his power to comply with. In this perplexity he came to the resolution to make a provisional cession of his kingdom to the crown of Great Britain. The following proclamation of the king to his chiefs and people is characteristic and touching, and exhibits the state of his mind in making the session:

Where are you, chiefs, people and commons from my ancestor, and people from foreign lands!

Hear ye! I make known to you that I am in perplexity by reason of difficulties into which I have been brought without cause; therefore, I have given away the life of our land,

hear ye! But, my rule over you, my people, and your privileges will continue, for I have hope that the life of the land will be restored when my conduct shall be justified.

Done at Honolulu, Oahu, this twenty-fifth day of February, 1843.

Witness, John D. Paalua.

(Signed:)

KAMEHAMEHA III,

(Signed:)

KEKAULUOHI.

I hereby certify the above to be a faithful translation. G. P. Judd, translator for the government.

In consequence of the difficulties in which we find ourselves involved, and our opinion of the impossibility of complying with the demands in the manner in which they are made by her Britannic Majesty's representative upon us, in reference to the claims of British subjects; we do hereby cede the group of islands known as the Hawaiian (or Sandwich) Islands unto the Right Honorable Lord George Paulet, Captain of her Britannic Majesty's Ship of War Carysfort, representing Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, from this date and for the time being; the said cession being made with the reservation that it is subject to any arrangement that may have been entered into by the representatives appointed by us to treat with the government of Her Britannic Majesty; and in the event that no agreement has been executed previous to the date hereof, subject to the decision of Her Britannic Majesty's government on conference with the said representatives appointed by us; or in the event of our representatives not being accessible, or not having been acknowledged, subject to the decision which Her Britannic Majesty may pronounce on the receipt of full information from us, and from the Rt. Hon. Lord George Paulet.

In confirmation of the above we hereby affix our names and seals, this twenty-fifth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, at Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands.

Signed in presence of G. P. Judd, Recorder and Translator for the government.

KAMEHAMEHA III,
KEKAULUOHI.

A provisional cession of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands having been made this day by Kamehameha III, King, and Kekauluohi, Premier thereof, unto me, The Right Hon. Lord George Paulet, commanding Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Carysfort, on the part of Her Britannic Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland; subject to arrangements which may have been or shall be made in Great Britain, with the government of Her British Majesty, I do hereby proclaim:

First. That the British flag shall be hoisted on all the Islands of the group, and that the natives thereof shall enjoy the protection and privileges of British subjects.

Second. That the government thereof shall be executed, until the receipt of communications from Great Britain, in the following manner, namely: By the native king and chiefs and the officers employed by them, so far as regards the native population; and by a commission, consisting of King Kamehameha III, or a deputy appointed by him, The Right Honorable Lord George Paulet, Duncan Forbes Mackay, Esquire, and Lieutenant Frere, R. N., in all that concerns relations with other powers (save and except the negotiations with the British Government), and the arrangements among foreigners (others than natives of the Archipelago) resident on these islands.

Third. That the laws at present existing or which may be made at the ensuing council of the king and chiefs (after being communicated to the commission) shall be in full force so far as natives are concerned; and shall form the basis of the administration of justice by the commission in matters between foreigners resident on these islands.

Fourth. In all that relates to the collection of the revenue, the present officers shall be continued at the pleasure of the native king and chiefs, their salaries for the current year being also determined by them, and the archives of

government remaining in their hands; the accounts are, however, subject to inspection by the commission herebefore named. The government vessels shall be in like manner; subject, however, to their employment if required for Her Britannic Majesty's service.

Fifth. That no sales, leases, or transfers of land shall take place by the action of the Commission appointed as aforesaid, nor from natives to foreigners, during the period intervening between the 24th of this month and the receipt of notification from Great Britain of the arrangements made there; they shall not be valid, nor shall they receive the signatures of the king and premier.

Sixth. All the existing bona fide engagements of the native king and premier shall be executed and performed as if this cession had never been made.

Given under my hand this twenty-fifth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, at Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands.

GEORGE PAULET,

Captain of H. B. M. S. Carysfort.

Signed in presence of

G. P. JUDD, Rec. and In. to the Govt.

ALEX. SIMPSON, H. B. M. acting Counsul.

A true copy of the original. G. PAULET, Captain.

It will not be expected of me to make any comments on these proceedings. Facts with their reasons and connections are not fully developed. The future historian will possess better facilities of arriving at the whole truth, and be in circumstances much more favorable to give a fair and just representation.

One obvious remark, however, may be made, and that is that the transaction exhibits, in a strong and interesting light, the power of the gospel at the islands. A nation, once savage and warlike, shows itself desirous of peace and exceedingly averse to any forcible resistance; a nation, once in the depth of heathen ignorance, exhibits knowledge, intelligence and a full acquaintance with its relative weakness;

a nation, once fickle and faithless, shows itself capable of mature deliberation, dignified respect and trustworthy engagements; a nation which once would have been driven by vain attempts of resistance to inevitable ruin, now prudently and nobly commits her cause to the enlightened justice of civilized nations. In the transaction, then, on the part of this people, we see indubitable evidence of the progress of light, and some of the noble fruits of the Gospel of Peace.

CHAPTER XV.*

DESIGNS ON SOVEREIGNTY OF THE ISLANDS FRUSTRATED.

Impending Dangers Noted—Intemperance Rife in Royal Circles—The King Induced to Reform—He Stands Firm Amid Trials—Richards and Haalilio Embark on Their Mission—French War Ship Embuscade Arrives with New Demands for Alleged Wrongs—The Commander Shown That all Matters Have Been Referred to France—The Carysfort Sent to the Islands on Complaint of British Consul Charlton—Government Under the British Commission—Moral Laws Abrogated—Dr. Judd Protests and Resigns—The Queen's Regiment—Dark Days—Arrival of the Hazard and Constellation Revives Hope—Commodore Kearney Protests Against the Cession—Rear Admiral Thomas Arrives—He Meets in Conference with the King—Restoration of the Flag, July 31—Festivities Follow—Recognition of Independence by England and France.

Since the history was brought to a close many events of thrilling interest have transpired. It is perhaps premature, as yet, to portray them in all their aspects, or to be very minute and circumstantial in narrating them. But the main facts and the more obvious reflections suggested by them may properly be given in this place.

From the very discovery of the islands until now, the independence of the native government has been in jeopardy, but, through a superintending Providence, it has been, from time to time, most signally preserved. Many a dark cloud has passed over the islands but none so black and portentous as that from which the nation has just emerged.

More than a year ago it was seen by the king and by others who were intimately acquainted with the affairs of

*This chapter appeared as an Appendix in a portion of the edition only. Dated September 4th it was printed in Honolulu and added to the unbound copies on hand. During its issue several changes were made conforming to the author's instructions, as shown in his letter to Dr. Anderson, of the A. B. C. F. M., of October 11th, 1843, hence the discrepancies found in some copies. A few are known to embrace, also, four copper-plate engravings of Lahainaluna school work, believed to be rare.

the nation, that a danger of no common magnitude was impending; and the most strenuous measures were taken be- times to avert, if possible, the threatening evil.

The king and most of the principal chiefs had, at that time, sadly gone astray in the road of intemperance. Special pains, therefore, were taken, not only to apprise the king of the imminent peril to which his government was exposed, but also to assure him, in the strongest terms, that in the favor of a superintending Providence, and the efforts of good men, consisted his only true ground of hope; and that he could not expect either the exertions of good men or the favor of God toward perpetuating his reign unless he should dash from his lips at once the cup of intoxication, and become strictly a temperate man; that unless he should reform, there was no encouragement for the friends of the nation to exert themselves; no possibility of preserving his government.

Through such solemn and earnest representation the king was influenced to sign a pledge that he would not, from that time forth, touch, taste or handle anything that could intoxicate.

Thus, headed by the king, commenced the Temperance Society of Lahaina. The subordinate chiefs soon joined, and multitudes also of the people registering their names in a large book, very appropriately called "*Ke Ola o ke Aupuni*"—The Life of the Kingdom.

The king publicly signed the pledge April 26th, 1842. Upon the anniversary of that event a quantity of rum, brandy and wine had remained in the king's cellar a twelve-month untouched. At the suggestion of a friend the casks containing these intoxicating and poisonous mixtures were brought forth, and at the command of the king were rolled to the beach, stove and emptied into the sea.

Amidst manifold temptations on the right hand and on the left, in prosperity and adversity, the king has kept his pledge. Neither the perplexities, trials and depressing emotions attendant on the cession of the islands already noticed, nor the recent joy and festivities connected with the

restoration about to be narrated, were allowed, in the kind providence of God, to lead him astray. Amidst the wine drinking of foreign residents and most of the officers of six ships of war, American and English, the king drank nothing but cold water, exhibiting in this particular at least, a nobleness, independence and consistency of character worthy of admiration. The smiles of the Almighty, it will be seen, have evidently attended the temperance reformation of the king and chiefs; and there is indubitable evidence, as in instances heretofore, that the eye of the great Shepherd has constantly watched over His flock at these islands, and that His ear has been attentive to their cries.

Mr. Richards, accompanied by Haalilio, one of the king's suit, embarked July 8th, 1842, as minister plenipotentiary to the United States, England and France. Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, having arrived at the islands some time before, and having exhibited a friendly interest in the government of the islands, had consented to be clothed with the same authority, and had departed, by way of Siberia, for England with an engagement to co-operate there with Mr. Richards.

Soon after the departure of the embassy, a French man-of-war, the *Embuscade*, arrives, and Captain Mallett, the commander, lays before his Majesty various complaints, alleging that the rights of French subjects had been infringed, and claiming certain privileges and making certain demands vitally affecting the interests of the native government. It was only on the declaration of the king that an embassy had been sent to represent those points at the court of France that the commander saw fit to waive them and to leave the islands. It is now believed by many intelligent men, not only at the islands, but also in the United States and Europe, that the commander of the *Embuscade* intended to make such demands as to involve the Hawaiian government in perplexity and inextricable difficulties; and that Captain Laplace, in 1839, had similar intentions; and that he made the demand for twenty thousand dollars in the belief that the government could not pay that sum; that had he for a mo-

ment mistrusted that it was in the power of the government to raise that amount he would have placed the demand much higher; that to obtain the islands was the object, not twenty thousand dollars; and that when that money was paid, shutting the door against any further demand, he was much chagrined and disappointed. If such indeed were the facts, how narrowly the Hawaiian government escaped two attempts of the French! And the escape was not effected by human wisdom, but by the overrulings of Providence—by an unseen Agency, leading, in the first instance, Captain Laplace to place his demands no higher than the government could comply with, and in the second instance, so arranging events that the Embuscade should not reach the islands till after the departure of the embassy. Have we not evidence here, as we have had from the beginning of the history, of the controlling and directing movements of an all-wise Providence?

Soon after the departure of the embassy for the United States, Mr. Charlton, then British consul, embarked for the Coast, and poured complaints into the ears of the British authorities there. The Carysfort was sent immediately to the islands, commanded by Lord George Paulet. The proceedings of that commander leading to a provisional cession of the islands, which the king signed, while bathed in tears, on the memorable 25th of February, have already been recorded.

The government of the islands continued under the British commission from February 25th till July 31st—five months and six days. Those were months of sorrow, sadness and gloomy forebodings. It is surprising with what assurance the Commission went forward in their acts, as though it were a settled point that the islands would remain permanently a British possession, and be placed under a colonial government; acting, too, as though future permanency depended on their laying a firm foundation. Their first act is to add to the laws, putting on one per cent duty to the three per cent required by the native government. They then call upon foreigners holding lands by lease or otherwise to send in their titles to the Commission.

The next act,—one's pen, from very shame, shrinks from recording it. Directly in the face of a solemn obligation clearly expressed in the articles of cession, not to interfere with the laws of the nation, the Commission proceeds to abrogate a very important statute—and what statute? that against fornication—making the crime punishable only when committed in the highways and thoroughfares.

Whatever may be said in such a country as England, in favor or against the policy of punishing for adultery only, and not for other acts of licentiousness,—the question is not a doubtful one in a nation like this, just emerging from barbarism and heathen habits, and annoyed from the time of their discovery till the present time with many a ship ready to prostitute its deck to the vilest purposes. Besides, what right had the British commission to judge in the case; and what reason or motive could they have had to single out that law as the first to be abrogated?

The effect of the abrogation on the public morals of Honolulu is described by Mr. Damon, seamen's chaplain at that place, in the following terms: "During the period that this law" [the law against all kinds of licentiousness] "was in force, its influence, upon the whole, must be acknowledged to have been most salutary. During the six months previous to its abrogation, I am bold to assert, that in proportion to the number of seamen visiting this port, a higher regard for purity and morality did not exist in any port this side of Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope. Since the force of the law has been restrained, the tide has changed—the current flows in an opposite direction. Residents in Honolulu can testify that a different state of things is fearfully rife. Boat loads of lewd women have been seen going and returning from vessels which have recently touched at this harbor for supplies. The law is prostrate—the arm of justice paralyzed; the officers of justice permitted to witness iniquity, but forbidden to arrest the guilty offenders. The most disgusting scenes are to be seen at noonday in the streets of Honolulu and around certain places of resort. Landsmen as

well as seamen have taken advantage of this state of public morals."

In addition, it may be said, that the Sabbath was openly desecrated at Honolulu by the racing of drunken sailors through the streets, and other annoying acts, and that in consequence the worshipping congregations at that port became very much diminished. Similar results, also, were experienced at Lahaina, and to a greater or less extent throughout the islands.

From the 25th of February till the abrogation of this law, G. P. Judd, M. D., had consented to represent his Majesty Kamehameha III as his deputy in the Commission. After this act, May 10th, he entered his solemn protest against the proceedings of the Commission, and against this act especially.

The commissioners gave no heed, but, in further violation of the articles of provisional cession, proceeded to place a veto on government licenses to auctioneers. The next day, May 11th, Doctor Judd, feeling assured that the rights of the king and of the nation would not be regarded according to the terms of the compact, sent in his resignation, thereby withdrawing the king from all participation in their acts and from all responsibility.

Another prominent act of the Commission should here be named, that of raising a standing army from among the native population, to be supported from the treasury of the nation; and for what other possible purpose than to keep the nation itself in subjection? The army was called "The Queen's Regiment"—officers were commissioned, the oath of allegiance to a foreign sovereign administered, and drafts made upon the treasury, and enforced by the threat, in case of non-compliance, of deposing the king's treasurer. Thus the nation was compelled to support a system evidently suicidal in its tendency.

Those were dark days. Licentiousness was rife. The treasury of the nation was drained. The vessels of the government were in the service of the Commission. The king seemed to be disposed of as a cypher, and his laws as waste

paper; and a soldiery of his own people were in constant training, with sworn allegiance to another sovereign.

The interests of foreign merchants and of their property in these islands and in these seas were seriously affected; motives to enterprise and improvement among the natives were taken away; seminaries and schools found encouragement only in the hope of better days; and the churches of Christ were exposed to numerous temptations from the inroads of vice. It was a time that called for faith in God and importunate prayer. The friends of the nation, of education and religion, were constrained to look upward for help. It became a common remark that God, in times past, had repeatedly interposed in a wonderful manner to preserve the nation, and that all were now called upon to look again to Him with earnestness and importunity. Many an obscure Sandwich Islander in his grass hut and simple kapa, kneeling before God in prayer, for the king, the nation, the schools and the churches, wielded a means of rescue and defense, however despised by the shortsighted and worldly wise, more powerful and effectual than can be boasted by the most powerful navy of the most powerful nation.

Amidst the anxiety and gloom, full expressions of favor toward the nation were received from the United States government, which had a cheering effect.

July 2nd, H. B. M. ship Hazard, Captain Bell, arrived from Tahiti. The Carysfort had sailed the day previous for Hilo. It was soon perceived that sentiments were entertained on board the Hazard not entirely in accordance with the proceedings of Lord George. Such sentiments from such a quarter, however faintly expressed, afforded to the friends of the nation some ground for encouragement.

A few days after, July 7th, very unexpectedly, the American frigate Constellation arrived from China, commanded by Commodore Kearney. With surprise the commander beholds the English flag flying at the fort and on board of all the native vessels. On ascertaining the cause, he resolved to pay no regard to the Commission, and to enter his protest to the act of the king in making a provisional cession of the is-

lands, and to the acts of the Commission wherein the rights of American citizens had in any manner suffered.

Lord George returned from Hilo in the *Carysfort* on the 16th of July, gave a salute to the *Constellation* and received one in return. Lord George was very uneasy, manifested great desire to see the king, and sent a vessel for him to Lahaina, his place of residence. The young chiefs in the boarding school at Honolulu and the Governor of Oahu had been saluted on board the *Constellation* under the Hawaiian flag; and Commodore Kearney had expressed a desire to salute the king in the same manner. Lord George wrote to the king that if he should suffer himself to be saluted under the Hawaiian flag he would forfeit all consideration from her Majesty's government. The king replied that it was not with him to control the acts of men-of-war from other nations, and that he could not be responsible for the manner in which they chose to extend to him their salutations.

The king did not go down in the vessel that was sent for him, but, soon after, sent down a printed proclamation, including the protest and resignation of Doctor Judd, his deputy, in which proclamation he makes various complaints, disowns the acts of the Commission, and charges them with very important violations of the compact. Commodore Kearney's protest, dated a few days later, was issued at the same time. A few days after the printed proclamation and protests had been sent down the king embarked for Honolulu, where he arrived on the 25th, just in time, and, as though ordered by Providence that there might be no delay, to be present at the restoration of his kingdom.

On the 26th the spy-glasses of Honolulu raised the masts of a lofty ship. As it neared and came up to full view and dimensions it was perceived to be an armed vessel displaying English colors and a broad pennant. It was the *Dublin* from Valparaiso, having on board Rear Admiral Thomas.

On taking possession of the islands Lord George had despatched one of the Hawaiian vessels to Valparaiso to carry the news to the Admiral. On receiving the informa-

tion the Admiral sailed without delay and reached Honolulu, as above stated, the 26th of July.

At anchor and her sails furled, the first note of communication from the Dublin was that of the Admiral, requesting in very kind and respectful terms, an interview with the king.

The request was readily granted, and on the next day, the 27th, the Admiral spent several hours in conference with the king, and also on the following day, the 28th. At these interviews very kind and friendly feelings were manifested by the Admiral toward the king, and he soon expressed a desire that the Hawaiian flag should be restored, and made arrangements for the formal act to take place on the Monday following, July 31st.

The events of the day set apart for restoring the flag were to the king and friends of the nation of the most exciting nature. A conspicuous spot on the plain of Honolulu was measured off and two tents were erected; one on the upper side for the accommodation of foreigners and their ladies, the other on the lower side for the king and his suite and the Admiral. Brass field-pieces and a line of marines, about four hundred in number, reached across the center of the square. A flagstaff with the national ensign furled, was planted near the lower tent, by the side of which the king and Admiral Thomas took their stand. Simultaneously the folds of the national flag and the smoke of the field-pieces are floating in the wind, and the roar of the cannon announces that the king is free and his flag is restored. This is followed by the raising of the flag at the forts, and a national salute from the guns of each, and from the armed vessels in port, viz: Dublin, Carysfort and Hazard, English; and the frigate Constellation, American. After the close of the salutes, marching and various evolutions were performed by the marines, exhibiting the manner of attack and defense, with discharges of field-pieces and musketry. These evolutions being finished, the king was escorted to his house where he was met by the officers of "the Queen's Regiment," tendering their submission and suing for pardon; for by swear-

ing allegiance to another sovereign they had forfeited their heads. Their pardon was graciously granted by the king who seemed to feel as David did on a similar occasion: "Shall there any man be put to death this day in Israel? For do not I know that I am this day king over Israel?"

A public service for offering thanksgiving to God for His merciful interposition in behalf of the nation was held in the stone meeting house at one o'clock. The king and his attendant chiefs were present and the house was filled with those who came with joyful hearts to praise the Lord for his goodness; and to say in his courts, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream." "The Lord hath done great things for us whereof we are glad."

The king, in a short speech, announced to the people that according to his hope expressed on the sad 25th of February, the "life" of his kingdom had been restored; that he could now call upon them to look to him as their sovereign, and would assure them that it would be his aim to administer the laws with impartiality and justice.

This speech was followed by interpreting the declaration of Admiral Thomas, made to the king on the occasion of the restoration—a declaration of some length, containing many just and important sentiments, and asserting that all differences between the two nations were adjusted or referred, and that her Majesty, Queen Victoria, desired king Kamehameha to be treated as an independent sovereign.

John Ii, as orator of the day, ascended the desk and in a very animated speech expressed the joy of the nation in having the flag restored. He contrasted the pleasure he now experienced with the gloom which came over his own mind and over the nation when he saw the national flag fall to the ground. In strains of native eloquence, of sterling good sense and unaffected piety, he addressed the audience for about twenty minutes. The exercises were closed with prayer by one of the protestant missionaries, and the congregation dispersed.

At three o'clock, in accordance with previous appoint-

ment, the king went aboard the *Dublin* to dine. As he passed the *Carysfort* and *Hazard* in the harbor he received from each a national salute, and was honored with another from the *Dublin* as he stepped upon her deck.

Ten days of rejoicing were allowed to all classes of people throughout the islands, during which time they were released from all public work; and all persons in confinement for breach of the laws during the interregnum were set at liberty.

Days of feasting and thanksgiving were set apart at all the principal places throughout the islands, and addresses were delivered by missionaries and intelligent native teachers, enumerating many very manifest interpositions of Divine Providence to preserve the nation, and calling upon the people not only to express their joy and gladness, but to render unto God a sincere tribute of grateful praise.

The frigate *United States*, Commodore Jones, arrived on the 3rd of August, and next day the *Cyane*, Captain Stribling, in time to take part in the joy and festivities of the nation. By the *Cyane*, information was received from Great Britain and France that those courts were ready to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Hawaiian Government.

The English nation, in its representative, Rear-Admiral Thomas, has exhibited a nobleness worthy of its greatness and glory, and an act of justice worthy of its christian character; and, it is hoped, that the British Government will speedily replenish the treasury of this nation which has been drained by Lord Paulet, thereby affording an example to the French, and administering to them a reproof for retaining the twenty thousand dollars extorted by Captain Laplace.

In the recent events the friends of the nation can find much ground for hope; and the friends of Christianity at these islands are admonished never more to distrust that Providence which, in addition to former instances of His care, has added this signal and manifest interposition.

APPENDIX A.

It may be interesting to many readers to see our Lord's Prayer in the principal Polynesian dialects as given by Mr. Davies.

The Paternoster or Lord's Prayer in Several Polynesian Dialects.

TAHITIAN.

E to matou Matua i te aora, ia raa to oe ioa. Ia tae to oe ra hau, iahaapao hia to oe hinaaro i te fenua nei mai tei ao atoa na. Homai no matou i teie nei mahana i tei haapaohia ra o te mahana o te maa, o te mahana o te maa. E faaore mai i ta matou hapa mai ta matou mau amu tarahu i faa ore atoa hia e matou nei. E eiaha e faarue ia matou ia roohia e te ati ra, e faaora ra ia matou, no oe hoi te hau, e te mana, e te hanahana, i te mau ui atoa e ore e hope. Amene.

RAROTONGAN.

E to matou Metua i ke ao ra, kia tapu to ou ingoa. Kia tae to ou basileia, kia akonoia to ou ano ano i te enua nei mei tei te a katoa na. Omai te kai e tau ia matou i teia nei ra. E akakore mai i ta matou ara, mei ia matou i akakore i tei ara ia matou nei. Auraka e akaruke ia matou kia roko ia e ke ati, e akaora ra ia matou i te kino, no ou oki te au, e te mana, e te kaka, e tuatau ua atu. Amene.

NEW ZEALAND.

E tou matou Matua i te rangi, kia tapu tou ingoa, tukua mai tou rangatiratanga, kia meatia tou hiahia ki te wenua me tou hiahia e te rangi; homai kia matou aienei ta matou kai mo tenei ra, hohia mai te rango ki a matou mo a matou hara, me matou haki e hohou atu nei i te rongo ki nga tungata e hara ana kia matou, aua matou e kaue atu ki te wakapakepakenga, wakaorangia matou i te kino; ina nau ra haki te rangatiratanga, me te kaha, me te kororia ake, ake, ake. Amene.

HAWAIIAN.

E ko makou Makua iloko o ka lani, e hoanoia kou inoa. E hiki mai kou aupuni; e malamaia kou makemake ma ka honua nei, e like me ia i malamaia ma ka lani la; e haawi mai ia makou i keia la i ai na makou no neia la; e kala mai hoi ia makou i ka makou lawehala ana, me makou e kala nei i ka poe i lawehala i ka makou. Mai hookuu oe ia makou i ka hoowalewaleia mai; e hoopakele no nae ia makou i ka ino; no ka mea, nou ke aupuni, a me ka mana, a me ka hoonaniia, a mau loa aku. Amene.

MARQUESAN.

E to matou Matua iuna i te aki, ia hamitaiia to oe inoa: Ia tuku mai to oe basileia: Ia hakaokohia to oe makemake i te henua nei me ia i hakaokoia i te aki iuna; a tuku mai i te kaikai no matou i te nei mau a. A

haka oe i ta matou pio, me matou e *haka* aku i ta telahi pio ia matou nei: auwe oe tili i matou ia oohia matou i te pio. A hoopahue ia matou, ko oe te basileia e ta mana e te hanohano, i te mau pokoeu atoa kakoe e pato. Amene.

SAMOAN.

Lo matou Tamae, i le ao, ia salou ingoa. Ia oo lou malo, ia talia lou finangalo i le fanua nei, pei o ei le ao na. Au mai la matou mea e ai, o le aso ma le mea e ai, o le aso ma le mea e ai. Faaola i a matou sala, pei oi matou e faaola ia tei latou e angasala mai ia tei matou. Ana fai le tuu i matou i le faasala; faaola ia tei matou ma le atuatu vale, o lou fai le malo, ma le mana, ma le mamalu, e tuai tuai tava. Amene.

TONGA.

Koe mau Tamai oku i hevani, ke tabupa no huafa. Ke au mai hoo bule, ke fai ho finangalo e mamani o hange ko hevani. Ke foaki mai haa mau mea kai he aho ui. Bea ke faka molemole e mau angahola o hange ko e mau fakamolemole akinautolo aku angahala mai kia teki mautolu. Bea ona naa ke tuku ki mautolu kihe ahiahi kovi; he ko hoo bule, mo ho malohi, mo ha kololia o lanikuonga. Emeni.

APPENDIX B.

As the columns by Mr. Davies have not to my knowledge been published extensively, it may not be amiss to insert them in this place. The Malay words, he states, are from the vocabulary of the late Dr. Milne, of Malacca.

*Malay.**Polynesian.*

Aku, ku,	aku, ku,	I, me.
Api,	afi, ahi, a'i, auahi,	fire.
Baik,	pai, (New Zealand)	good.
Bupa,	pa, paino,	father.
Batu, a stone,	patu,	a stone wall.
Bau, bauhu,	pauffi,	a shoulder.
Benua,	fenua, enua, wenua,	land, country.
Bulu,	falu, hulu, huruhuru,	hair, feather.
Bunga,	bua,	the coral rock.
Dae,	dae, rae, ae,	the forehead.
Dua,	dua, lua, rua, ua,	two, (in numbers).
Gau,	rua, ua,	a hole, or pit.
Halea,	lea, rea, renga,	tumeric plant.
Hawa,	mehau,	air, wind.
Ia	ia, oia,	he, she, it.
Ini,	inei, eie, nei,	this.
Ikan,	ika, i'a,	fish.
Ku,	ku,	my, mine.
Kutu,	kutu, utu, ngutu,	a louse.
Leangit,	langi, rangi, ani, ra'i,	the sky.
Langou,	ra'o,	a large fly.
Mata,	mata,	the eye.
Mate or mati,	mate,	death, illness.
Mama,	mama,	to chew food.
Makanan,	kana, (Fiji), kai, ai,	to eat.

<i>Malay</i>	<i>Polynesian.</i>	
Pa,	pa,	a father.
Raja, radja,	raatira, rangatira,	a chief.
Sala,	sala, (Hamoā) hala, hara,	wrong, sin.
Tangis,	tangi, tani, ta'i,	to weep, or wail.
Talinga,	talinga, taringa, taria,	the ear.
Tuli,	tuli, turi,	deafness.
Ubi,	ubi, uvi, ufi, uhi, u'i,	the yam.
Ugan,	uha, ua,	rain.
Aier,	vai, wai	water.

These affinities may be further exemplified by the following tabular view of the Polynesian numerals and those of the Western languages or dialects.

<i>Tahitian.</i>	<i>Marquesan.</i>	<i>Rapan.</i>	<i>Rarotongan.</i>	<i>Hawaiian.</i>
1 Tahi,	tahi,	ta'i,	tai,	kahi.
2 Rua,	ua,	rua,	rua,	lua.
3 Toru,	to'u,	toru,	toru,	kolu.
4 Aha,	ha,	aa,	aa,	ha.
5 Rima,	ima,	rima,	rima,	lima.
6 Ono,	ono,	ono,	ono	ono.
7 Hitu,	fitu,	itu	itu,	hiku.
8 Varu,	va'u,	varu,	varu,	walu.
9 Iva,	iva,	iva	iva,	iwa.
10 Ahuru,	onohu,	angauru,	angauru,	anahulu.

<i>New Zeland.</i>	<i>Easter Island.</i>	<i>Modern Tahitian.</i>	<i>Paumotuan.</i>	<i>Samoan.</i>
1 Tahi,	tahi,	tahi,	arari,	tasi.
2 Rua	rua,	piti,	aite,	lua.
3 Toru,	toru,	toru,	agetī,	tolu.
4 Wa,	haa,	maha,	aope,	fa.
5 Rima,	rima,	pae,	agoka,	lima.
6 Ono,	hono,	ahene,	ahene,	ono.
7 Witu,	hitu,	hitu,	ahito,	fitu.
8 Waru	varu,	va'u,	ahiava,	valu.
9 Iwa,	hiva,	iva	anipa,	iva.
10 Angahuru,	anahuru,	ahuru,	horihori,	sengafulu.

<i>Tonga.</i>	<i>Tana Island.</i>	<i>Fijian.</i>	<i>Malayan.</i>	<i>Island of Savu.</i>
1 Taha,	tasi,	tasi,	satu,	ise.
2 Lua,	lua,	rua,	dua,	rue.
3 Tolu,	tolu,	toru,	tiga,	tolu.
4 Fa,	faa,	fa,	ampat,	apa.
5 Lima,	lima,	rima,	lima,	lumi.
6 Ono,	ono,	ono,	anam,	una.
7 Fitu,	fitu,	fitu,	inju,	pitu.
8 Valu,	valu,	varu,	delapan,	aru.
9 Iva,	iva,	iva,	sambelan,	saio.
10 Angafulu	kanafulu,	ejini,	sapulu,	singauru.

<i>Isle of Ceram.</i>	<i>Isle of Mosses.</i>	<i>Javanese.</i>	<i>Mindanao.</i>	<i>Tagales of Manila.</i>
1 Inta,	kau,	siji,	isa,	isa.
2 Lua,	rua,	loru,	daua,	dalava.
3 Tolu,	tolu,	tulu,	tulu,	tatle.
4 Patu,	wali,	papat,	apat,	ampat.

<i>Isle of Ceram.</i>	<i>Isle of Mosses.</i>	<i>Javanese</i>	<i>Mindanao.</i>	<i>Tagales of Manila.</i>
5 Lima,	rima,	limo,	lima,	lima.
6 Lama,	eno,	nanam,	anam,	anim.
7 Pitu,	vitu,	bitu,	pitu,	pito.
8 Alu,	ialu,	walo,	walu,	valo.
9 Tio,	siwa,	sango,	siau,	siam.
10 Pulu,	sangapulu,	sapulo,	sanpulu,	polo.
<i>Papangos of Philippines.</i>	<i>Batta.</i>	<i>Lampoon.</i>	<i>Acheen of Sumatra.</i>	<i>Isle of Cocos.</i>
1 Isa metong,	sada,	sai,	sa,	tasi.
2 Adua,	duo,	rua,	dua,	lua.
3 Atlo,	tolu,	tolu,	hu,	tolu.
4 Apat,	opat,	ampa,	paat,	tea.
5 Lima,	lima,	lima,	limung,	lima.
6 Anam,	onam,	anam,	nam,	hono.
7 Pitu,	paitu,	pitu,	tuju,	fitu.
8 Valo,	walu,	walu,	delapau,	walu.
9 Siam,	sia,	siwa,	takurang,	iwa.
10 Apolo,	sadulu,	pulu,	sapulu,	ongefulu.
<i>New Guinea.</i>	<i>Madagase.</i>	<i>Carolines.</i>	<i>Pelew Islands.</i>	<i>New Caledonia.</i>
1 Tika,	isa,	iota,	tong,	par ai.
2 Roa,	rua,	rua,	oru,	par ru.
3 Tola,	tolu,	tolu,	othei,	par gen.
4 Fata,	efa,	tia,	oung,	par bai.
5 Lima,	liman,	lima,	ima,	par nim.
6 Wama,	one,	honu,	malong,	{ according to Foster.
7 Fita,	hitu,	fisu,	oweth,	
8 Wala,	walu,	waru,	tei,	
9 Siwa,	siwa,	hivo,	eteio,	
10 Sargafula,	fulu,	sigu,	makoth,	

APPENDIX C.

A few extracts of ancient songs or poetry may be here inserted as specimens. The names of islands as yet known to us in geography are marked in italics.

EXTRACT FROM THE STORY AND SONG CALLED LEIMAKANI.

“Makani winiwini, makani winiwini,
 “Makani pu mai hea? Pu mai ana,
 “I *Kahiki*, i *Upolu*, i *Vavau*,
 “I *Helanikapuemanu*, i *Muliwaiolena*.”

EXTRACT FROM THE STORY AND SONG CALLED KAULU.

“O Kaulu nei au, o Kehamaakahala,
 “O ka hiamoe kapu, o ka auwaalalua,
 “Ke kiele ka maaolaioa,
 “O Kuleiopaoa ka mea nana i hoolei,
 “E Kaulu e, kiwaaia,
 “E Kaulu e, awaaia,
 “O lele aku keia,

"O *Vavau*, o *Upolu*, o Helani,
 "O Kekuina, o Ulunui, o Melemele,
 "O Hakalauai; apo ka po, apo ke ao,
 "Apo kukulu a *Kahiki*,
 "Pau *Kahiki* ia Kaulu."

In the above song it is said that Kaulu embraced in his voyages all the places named, and wholly explored the Society Islands.

EXTRACT FROM THE SONG AND STORY CALLED KAWAU.

"Ku mai, ku mai ka nalu nui,
 "Mai *Kahiki*, i *Vavau*, i *Upolu*,
 "I Hoane ka pua hoehoe pae,
 "Hoehoe pae au e."

EXTRACT FROM THE SONG AND STORY CALLED KUALII.

"No wai o *Kahiki*, no Ku no (*Kualii*),
 "O *Kahiki*, moku o Olopana,
 "Iwaho ka la, ilalo ka aina,
 "O ka welowelo a ka la ke hiki mai,
 "Ua ike oe? Ua ike au ia *Kahiki*,
 "He leo pahaohao wale ko *Kahiki*,
 "No *Kahiki*, kanaka i pii a luna,
 "O Kuamoo o ka la, nana iho ia lalo,
 "Aole kanaka o *Kahiki*,
 "Hookahi o *Kahiki* kanaka, he haole,
 "Me ia la he akua, me au la he kanaka."

EXTRACT FROM THE SONG AND STORY CALLED NIIHAU.

"No Makakolo, no Oo, no Haili,
 "No Kahaupo ia Kane,
 "No Waipapa, no Waialeale,
 "No Aleaiki, no Aleanui,
 "No *Nuuhiwa*, no Nuao, no Nuaihea,
 "Ke' kua; he mau aku ke lele nei,
 "Kini lau la i ka moana."

Extracts like the above embracing foreign names might be extended to almost any length, but these will suffice for the present purpose.

APPENDIX D.

As representations to the eye are more vivid and permanent than those communicated to the ear, it may not be useless to insert here the traditional genealogy of the Hawaiian chiefs. The table is, of course, liable to be erroneous, since it is the product of oral tradition and not of written records. There are many traditions relating to these ancient chiefs, but few would be interesting to an English reader. It is supposed that the first twenty-six in the genealogy were not born at the

Sandwich Islands, as the places of their birth are not mentioned in song, whereas from the twenty-sixth down both the places of birth and burial are mentioned with great particularity.

HUSBAND.	WIFE.	CHILD.
O Wakea,	{ Papa,	o Hoohekukalani,
O Haloa,	{ Hoohekukalani,	o Haloa,
O Waia,*	Hinamanouluae,	o Waia,
O Hinanalo,	Huhune,	o Hinanalo,
O Nanakehili,	Haunuu,	o Nanakehili,
O Wailoa,	Haulani,	o Wailoa,
O Kio,	Hikawaopuaiaaea,†	o Kio,
O Ole,	Kamole,	o Ole,
O Pupue,	Hai,	o Pupue,
O Manaku,	Kamahele,	o Manaku,
O Kahiko,	Hikohaale,	o Kahiko,
O Luanuu, ††	Kaea,	o Luanuu,
O Kii,	Kawaamaukele,	o Kii,
O Nanaulu,	Hinakoula,	{ o Ulu,
O Ulu,	Ulukou,	{ o Nanaulu,
O Nanaie,	Kapunuu,	o Nanamea,
O Nanailani,	Kahaumokuleia,	{ o Nana,
O Waikulani,	Hinakinau,	{ o Kapulani,
O Kuheleimoana,	Kekauilani,	{ o Nanaie,
O Konohiki,	Mapunaiaala,	o Nanailani,
O Wawena,	Hikaululena,	o Waikulani,
O Akalana,	Hinamahuia,	o Kuheleimoana,
O Maniakalana,	Hinakawea,	o Konohiki,
O Nanamaoa,	Hinakealohaila,	o Wawena,
O Nanakulei,	Hinaikapaikua,	o Akalana,
O Nanakaoko,	Kahaukuhonua,	{ o Mauimua,
O Heleipawa,	Kahihiokalani,	{ o Mauihope,
O Hulumanailani,	Kookookumaikalani,	{ o Mauikiiki,
O Aikanaka,	Hinamaikalani,	{ o Mauiakalana,
O Puna,	Hinahanaiakamalama,	o Nanamaoa,
O Hema,	Hainalau,	o Nanakulei,
O Kahai,	Ulamahahoa,	o Nanakaoko,
O Wahihoa,	Hinauluohia,	o Heleipawa,
O Laka,	Koolaukahili,	o Hulumanailani,
O Luanuu,	Hikawaelena,	o Aikanaka,
	Kapokulaiula,	{ o Puna,
		{ o Hema,
		o Ua,†††
		o Kahai,
		o Wahihoa.
		o Laka,
		o Luanuu,
		o Kamea,

* It is said that in the reign of this king the land was visited by a pestilence similar to that in the days of Kamehameha.

† It is said that Hinamanouluae, Huhune, Haunuu, Haulani, and Hikawaopuaiaaea are not different persons, but only different names of Papa, as her soul inhabited sundry bodies by transmigration. This tradition seems to indicate that they had something of the eastern notion of transmigration of souls.

†† It is affirmed that this king was so good a man that he died a natural death in his kingdom, as a reward for his virtue.

††† He was the progenitor of the Kauai and Oahu kings, from whom a distinct genealogy is preserved.

HUSBAND.	WIFE.	CHILD.
O Kamea,	Popomaili,	o Pohukaina,
O Pohukaina,	Huahuakapalei,	o Hua,
O Hua,	Hikimolulolea,	o Pau,
O Pau,	Kapohaakia,	o Huanuikalalailai,
O Huanuikalalailai,	{ Kapoea,	o Paumakua,
	{ Molehai,	o Kuhelani,
O Paumakua,	Manokalililani,	o Haho,
O Haho,	Kauilaianapa,	o Palena,
O Palena,	Hikawainui,	{ o Hanalaanui, †
O Hanalaanui,	Mahuia,	{ o Hanalaaiiki, ††
O Lanakawai,	Kolohialiiokawai,	o Lanakawai,
O Laau,	Kukamolimolialoha,	o Laau,
O Pili,	Hinaauaku,	o Pili,
O Koa,	Hinaaumai,	o Koa,
O Ole,	Hinamailalii,	o Ole,
O Kukohou,	Hinakeuki,	o Kukahou,
O Kaniuhi,	Hiliamakani,	o Kaniuhi,
O Kanipahu,	{ Hualani,	o Kanipahu,
	{ Alaikauokoko,	o Kalahumoku,
O Kalapana,	Makeamalamaiahanae,	o Kalapana,
O Kahaimoeleai-		o Kahaimoeleai-
kaaikupou,	Kapoakauluhailaa,	kaaikupou,
O Kalaunuiohua,	Kaleka,	o Kalaunuiohua,
		o Kuaiwa,
O Kuaiwa,	Kamuleilani,	{ o Kohoukapu,
		{ o Hukulani,
		{ o Manauea,
O Kohoukapu,	Laakapu,	o Kauholanuimahu,
O Kauholanuimahu,	Neula,	o Kiha,
O Kiha,	Waoilea,	o Liloa,
O Liloa,	{ Pinea,	o Hakau, †††
	{ Akahiakuleana,	o Umi,
	{ Kulamea,	o Kapunanahuanui-
		aumi,
O Umi,	{ Makaalua,	o Nohowaumi,
	{ Kapukini,	{ o Kealiiokaloa,
		{ o Kapulani,
		{ o Keawenuiami,
	{ Piikea,	{ o Aihakoko,
		{ o Kumalau,
O Kealiiokaloa,	Makuhineapalaka,	o Kukailani,
O Kukailani,	Kaohukiokalani,	{ o Kaikilani,
		{ o Makakaualii,
O Makakaualii,	Kapukamola,	o Iwikauikaua,
O Keawenuiaumi,	Koihalawai,	o Kanaloakuaana,
		{ o Kealiiokalani,
O Kanaloakuaana,	Kaikilani,	{ o Keakealanikane
		{ o Kalanioumi,

† He was the ancestor of the Hawaii kings.

†† He was the ancestor of the Maui kings from whom a distinct genealogy is handed down.

††† Hakau has the reputation of having been a wicked king, and the following charges are made against him as proof of it. If he saw a woman whose hair was handsomely dressed, or a man who had good hair and hands well *kakaed*, he ordered that the head and hand be cut off; and this it seems he did, merely that he might amuse himself with them as curiosities or playthings.

HUSBAND.	WIFE.	CHILD.
O Keakealanikane,	Kealiiokalani,	o Keakamahana,
O Iwikauikaua,	Keakamahana,	o Keakealani,
O Kanaloakapulehu	Keakealani,	o Keawe,
O Kaneikauaiwilani	Keakealani,	o Kalanikauleleia- iwi,
O Keawe,	Kalanikauleleaiwi,	{ o Keeaumoku,
O Keeaumoku,	Kamakaimoku,	{ o Kekela,
O Kekela,	Haae,	o Kalanikupuapai- kalaninui,
O Kalanikupuapai- kalaninui	Kekuiapoiwa,	o Kekuiapoiwa,
		o KAMEHAMEHA.

APPENDIX E.

Some readers may be desirous of more exact information in regard to works that now exist in the Hawaiian language. For such the following tabular view is inserted. In addition to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, a Sandwich Islander has in his native tongue the following works:

NAMES OF WORKS.	MO.	PAGES.	TRANSLATORS AND AUTHORS.	WHERE FIRST PRINTED	YEAR.	EDITIONS.
Elementary Lessons	12	8	Bingham	Honolulu	1822	8
First Book for Children...	18	36	Bingham	Honolulu	1831	3
Scripture Catechism.....	18	216	Bingham	Honolulu	1831	2
Universal Geography [com- piled from various auth- ors]	12	216	Whitney and Richards	Honolulu	1832	1
Fowle's Child's Arithmetic	24	60	Bishop	Honolulu	1833	4
Animals of the Earth with a chart	12	12	Andrews	Honolulu	1833	1
Catechism on Genesis	16	56	Ruggles	Honolulu	1833	1
Geometry for Children.....	16	64	Richards	Honolulu	1833	1
[Holbrook's]						
Tract on Marriage	12	12	Clark	Honolulu	1833	1
Sacred Geography	16	100	Thurston	Lahainaluna	1834	2
[Worcester's]						
Geographical Questions	12	44	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1834	3
Bible Class Book	16	62	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1834	1
[Abbott & Fisk's, Vol. 1]						
Colburn's Intellectual Arith- metic	18	132	Bishop	Lahainaluna	1834	4
History of Beasts	12	192	Richards	Lahainaluna	1834	1
Lama Hawaii (Newspaper)	4	100	Andrews, Ed.	Lahainaluna	1834	
Hawaiian Almanac	8	16	Clark & Richards	Honolulu	1835	
Sacred Geography	12	84	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1835	2
[Compiled, etc.]						
Union Questions, Vol 1....	16	156	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1835	2
Colburn's Sequel	12	116	Bishop	Honolulu	1835	2
History of Beasts for Chil- dren	12	84	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1835	3

Kumu Hawaii (Newspaper)	4		Tinker, Ed.	Honolulu	1835
Kumu Kamalii (Child's Newspaper)	8		Tinker, Ed.	Honolulu	1835
Daily Food, with Notes	18	36	Emerson	Honolulu	1835
Hawaiian Grammar	8	32	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1835 1
First Reading Book for Children	12	48	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1835 4
Tract on the Sabbath	12	12	Green	Lahainaluna	1835 1
Universal Geography	12	203	Whitney	Honolulu	1836 1
[Woodbridge's]					
Daily Food, with Notes ...	18	123	Emerson	Honolulu	1836
Maps of U. Geography		9	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1836 3
Scripture Chronology and History, a text book with Questions	12	216	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1837 2
Hymns	24	184	Bingham and Others	Honolulu	1837 4
Hymns, with Notes	24	360	Bingham and Others	Honolulu	1837 1
Linear Drawing	12	36	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1837 1
Little Philosopher [Abbot's]	12	40	Clark	Lahainaluna	1837 1
Eng. and Haw. Grammar...	8	40	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1837 1
First Teacher for Children	16	32	Emerson	Honolulu	1837 3
Tract on Astronomy	12	12	Clark	Lahainaluna	1837 1
Maps of Sacred Geography		6	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1837 2
Sixteen Sermons	12	144	Various authors	Lahainaluna	1836 1
Tract on Lying	12	8	Lyman	Honolulu	1837 1
First Book for Teaching English	12	36	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1837 1
Hymns for Children	24	122	Lyons	Honolulu	1838 2
Hawaiian History	12	116	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1838 1
Algebra [Colburn's]	12	44	Bishop	Lahainaluna	1838 1
Anatomy	12	60	Judd	Honolulu	1838 1
Scripture Lessons	12	152	Lyons	Honolulu	1838 1
Mathematics, embracing Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, and Navigation	8	168	Clark, Armstrong and Alexander	Lahainaluna	1838 1
Tract on Intemperance	12	28	Baldwin	Honolulu	1838 1
Bible Class Book, Vol. 2...	12	36	Whitney	Lahainaluna	1839 1
Bible Class Book, Vol. 3...	12	40	Whitney	Lahainaluna	1839 1
Child's Book on the Soul. Vol. 1. [Gallaudet's]	18	66	Whitney	Honolulu	1840 1
Natural Theology	12	178	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1840 2
[Gallaudet's]					
Nonanona (Newspaper) ...	8		Armstrong, Ed.	Honolulu	1840 1
Church History	12	340	Green	Lahainaluna	1841 1
Moral Philosophy	12	215	Armstrong	Lahainaluna	1841 1
[Wayland's]					
Tract on Popery	12	23	Armstrong	Honolulu	1841 1
Keith's Study of the Globes	16	80	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1841 1
Volume of Sermons	12	296	Various authors	Honolulu	1841 1
Sandwich Islands' Laws...	12	92	Government	Honolulu	1841 1
English and Hawaiian Lessons	16	40	Andrews	Lahainaluna	1841 1

Reading Book for Schools. [A compilation from works in the native lan- guage].....	12	340	Green & Andrews	Lahainaluna	1842	1
Compend of History	12	76	Green	Lahainaluna	1842	1
Dying Testimony of Believ- ers and Unbelievers.....	12	40	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1832	1
Doctrinal Catechism	12	32	Forbes	Honolulu	1842	1
Algebra [Bailey's]	8	160	Bishop	Lahainaluna	1843	1
Scripture Charts		6ch	Dibble	Lahainaluna	1843	1
Pilgrim's Progress	12	418	Bishop	Honolulu	1843	1
Geometry [Legendre's] ...			Alexander	Lahainaluna	1843	

Some small tracts and Catechisms are omitted. And where tracts on a particular subject, as, for instance, on Church History, have given place to volumes, they are omitted. Former hymn books, also, not now in use, are not inserted.

The amount of printing at the mission presses, from the commencement in 1822 to the General Meeting in May, 1842, was 113,017,173 pages.

APPENDIX F.

It may be interesting some years hence, especially to the people of these Islands, if the nation shall exist, to know who took part in translating the Bible into the Hawaiian tongue. To gratify such an interest the following table is subjoined:

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

PORTIONS.	TRANSLATORS	WHERE 1ST PRINTED	YEAR
Matthew	Bingham, Thurston, Bishop & Richards.	Rochester, N. Y.	1828*
Mark	Richards.	Rochester	1828*
Luke	Bingham.	Honolulu	1829
John	Thurston.	Rochester	1828
Acts	Richards.	Honolulu	1829
Romans	Thurston & Bishop.	Honolulu	1831
1 Corinthians	Richards.	Honolulu	1831
2 Corinthians	Thurston & Bishop.	Honolulu	1831
Galatians—Philipians	Thurston & Bishop.	Honolulu	1831
Colossians—Hebrews	Bingham.	Honolulu	1832
James	Richards & Andrews.	Honolulu	1832
1 Peter and 2 Peter	Richards.	Honolulu	1832
1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude.	Richards & Andrews.	Honolulu	1832
Revelations	Richards.	Honolulu	1832

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PORTIONS.	TRANSLATORS	WHERE 1ST PRINTED	YEAR.
Genesis	Thurston & Bishop.	Honolulu	1836*
Exodus	Richards.	Honolulu	1836*
Leviticus	Bingham.	Honolulu	1836*

Numbers and Deuteronomy	Thurston	Honolulu	1836*
Joshua	Richards & Green.....	Honolulu	1836*
Judges and Ruth	Richards.....	Honolulu	1835
1 Samuel	Thurston.....	Honolulu	1835
2 Samuel	Bishop.....	Honolulu	1835
1 Kings	Bingham & Clark.....	Honolulu	1838
2 Kings	Thurston.....	Honolulu	1838
1 Chronicles	Bishop.....	Honolulu	1838
2 Chronicles	Green.....	Lahainaluna	1836
Ezra	Thurston.....	Honolulu	1839
Nehemiah	Dibble.....	Lahainaluna	1835
Esther	Richards.....	Lahainaluna	1835
Job	Thurston.....	Honolulu	1839
Psalms, 1-75	Bingham.....	Honolulu	1831-9
Psalms, 76-150	Richards.....	Honolulu	1839
Proverbs	Andrews.....	Lahainaluna	1836
Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song	Green.....	Lahainaluna	1836
Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamen- tations	Richards.....	Lahainaluna	1836-8
Ezekiel	Bingham.....	Honolulu	1839
Daniel	Green.....	Honolulu	1839
Hosea—Habakkuk	Thurston.....	Honolulu	1839
Zephaniah—Malachi	Bishop.....	Honolulu	1839

* Sections of these books were printed, several years before the dates in the table, in the form of tracts.

A portion of Scripture when translated usually passed into the hands of a reviewer before it was printed, but the practice of reviewing was not so systematically conducted as to allow of being represented in the table.

The first uniform edition of the New Testament was printed in the year 1836, and the first uniform edition of the whole Bible was completed in 1839. Many editions of particular portions of Scripture have been printed; three uniform editions of the New Testament and one edition of the whole Bible. The second edition of the whole Bible is now going through the press under the superintendence of Mr. Bishop.

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